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Dedication

For my Dad.

Abstract

My study examines the development of the international book trade in English-language books between 1870 and 1895 and traces the business transactions of a number of publishers, booksellers, and distributors whose businesses spanned the globe. While an international book trade existed before the late nineteenth century, during this period a combination of different social, cultural, political, and economic factors forced publishers and booksellers in the Western world to look for and enter into new markets. Whereas previously international book sales were not a necessary component of success, colonial booksellers, distributors, and publishers, such as George Robertson and Edward Petherick, and British publishing firms, such as Richard Bentley and Son and Macmillan, sought to establish direct relations with each other in order to promote not only the sale of British books in the colonies but also the creation of editions specifically for the colonial market. Moreover, British, European, and American publishing firms had to negotiate with Robertson and Petherick in order to gain entrance into the burgeoning Australasian, colonial, and foreign markets for English-language books. The late-nineteenth century is a period of negotiation, collaboration, and competition as publishers, distributors, and authors increasingly looked beyond their own national borders for solutions to problems with book piracy and copyright that plagued the trade, as well as for opportunities to enlarge the sales of their publications.

I analyze the theory and methodology traditionally used in Print Culture and argue that existing theory, such as Robert Darnton's communications circuit, often forces the history of print to fit into a national and synthetic mould. I argue that

Pierre Bourdieu's field of cultural production offers a more contextual theory of book production and circulation; he examines the field of cultural production as the product of practices of fluid social networks and relationships. While Bourdieu offers a contextualized framework for the study of the international book trade, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari provide a vocabulary for clarifying the power dynamics of the trade that complements the unpredictable movement of books and people on the international stage.

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Chapter One – Introduction

Wallace Kirsop contends that a number of gaps remain "in our knowledge of bookselling" (*Books* 2), and recent work, such as the SSHRC-funded major collaborative research project The History of the Book in Canada, has attempted to fill these gaps. The mandate of this project is to develop a national history that outlines the growth of print and print media in Canada. Similar histories of the book are also underway or have been completed in France, Australia, New Zealand, Britain, and the United States. In general, the history-of-the-book projects examine both the growth of national book trades and the distinct local and regional differences that characterize each country's trade. Also, participating academics view the projects as preparatory surveys that will hopefully support future national and international studies of authorship, reading, and publishing. The projects are a necessary step in the development of Print Culture, which is increasingly characterized as an interdisciplinary field that "is no longer simply the province of bibliographers or literary critics, but rather can be seen as an integral part of the history of human communication" (Finklestein and McCleery 3). However, critics argue that Print Culture's interdisciplinarity is challenged by the book-centric and nation-centric focus of the history-of-the-book projects (Wirten 3). The projects risk insularity and ignorance of the larger international field within which book trades interacted and developed historically. While it is important to produce national histories of the book trade, academics must not neglect the fact that books and people have always circulated not only within but also between and among countries.

As early as the fourth century CE, "there was a well-organized [manuscript] book trade between Rome and the whole of the civilised world" (Plant 18-21).[1] During the fifteenth century, the development of the mechanical press facilitated the expansion of the international trade in books. In this period, booksellers and publishers, such as Anton Koberger, sold books throughout Europe. Koberger, who printed, published, and sold books in Nürnberg, at the height of his activities "ran 24 presses" and "went into partnership with printer-publishers in Basil, Strasbourg, and Lyon partly because his own presses could not cope with the output, partly because he wished to facilitate the sale of his books abroad" (Steinberg 58). Koberger sold books on "a grand scale," which was equivalent to "the international [book] cartels and trusts of the era of 'early capitalism.'" Consequently, the invention of moveable type in the fifteenth century did not mark the beginning of the transnational book trade but the continuation of the sale of books on an international scale. National histories of the book often perpetuate a metanarrative that starts with the origins of a country's book trade, progresses to the development of a national book trade, and expands into an international book trade. However, the history of the book trade is not about the linear progression from a local to international business; instead, the book or manuscript trade has often incorporated international commerce.

An increasing number of scholars of Print Culture have called for the study of the international trade and movement of books, but this area of research is still in its infancy.[2] In seeking to contribute to the field, my study investigates the late nineteenth-century international book trade between and among England, Australia, the United States, and Canada, as well as other British colonies, by tracing the business transactions between 1870 and 1895 of a number of publishers, booksellers, wholesalers, and others whose businesses spanned the globe. While an international trade in books existed before the nineteenth century, during this period a combination of different social, cultural, and political factors forced publishers and booksellers in the Western world to look for and enter into new international markets. Whereas previously international book sales were not a necessary component of success, the trade had to look beyond established markets and expand further afield in order to survive and prosper in the late nineteenth-century book business.

Wallace Kirsop and George Parker agree that many colonial booksellers in the Australasian and Canadian colonies in the mid nineteenth century either established London buying offices or made arrangements with British firms in order to facilitate the regular shipment of books from Britain.[3] During this period, British firms, such as John Murray and Macmillan, were also interested in expanding their businesses to include the colonies. As a consequence of the exponential growth of both the population and literacy rate within the colonies, colonial booksellers and publishers, such as George Robertson and Edward Petherick, and British firms, such as Richard Bentley and Son, sought to establish direct relations with each other in the second half of the nineteenth century. British and colonial firms cooperated with each other in order to promote not only the sale of British books in the colonies but also the creation of inexpensive editions specifically for the colonial market. While Kirsop and Parker agree that an international trade in books existed and developed during the late nineteenth century, they describe an unequal relationship between British and colonial firms, which led, by the early twentieth century, to the control of the international and local distribution networks by the larger British and American publishing companies. Kirsop argues that Australian publishers and distributors were replaced "gradually and even insidiously …. by local branches of British and eventually American publishers" (Kirsop, *Books* 14).[4] Similarly, Parker contends that in the nineteenth century Canadian publishers "fought to obtain control of their own territory" but the Canadian book market soon became "a battleground for American and British publishers, and skirmishes continued into the twentieth century" (*Beginnings* 258).

My study diverges from Parker's and Kirsop's interpretation of events by suggesting that colonial booksellers and publishers, such as George Robertson, did not initially occupy an unfavourable or unequal position in comparison to their British counterparts; indeed, seen from an international rather than a national perspective, Robertson and others situated themselves first as middlemen and later as important figures in a burgeoning international book trade. British and American publishing firms had to negotiate with Robertson in order to gain entrance into the increasingly lucrative Australasian book market. I believe that the twenty-five-year period between 1870 and 1895 was one of negotiation as British publishing houses, such as Richard Bentley and Son, worked with their colonial and foreign counterparts to create a space for their publications outside Britain. During this period, an increasing readership, ambiguity surrounding international publishing laws, technological advances, and a host of other social, economic, and political factors contributed to the development and expansion of book markets around the world. However, favourable conditions for expansion were not the only impetus spurring on the development of international trade.[5] The combination of wide-scale depression in the book trades in Europe, North America, and the British colonies in the nineteenth century and increased competition in the same markets because of the influx of cheap editions or pirated imprints led firms to seek new markets and opportunities. I concentrate on the interval between 1870 and 1895 as a period of negotiation, collaboration, and competition between colonial, foreign, and British firms.[6]

In this study I compare, on the one hand, Robertson's and Petherick's business dealings with British firms, such as Richard Bentley and Son and Macmillan, with, on the other hand, the strategies deployed by Canadian firms, such as John Lovell and Son, in their dealings with the juggernaut book trades of Britain and the United States. Central to my argument is the idea that the individuals and firms that I am examining were not atypical in their belief that the book trade was an international business in the late nineteenth century. Many colonial and foreign publishers, booksellers, distributors, and others in the book trade increasingly looked beyond their own national borders for solutions to problems with book piracy and copyright that plagued the trade, as well as for opportunities to expand their firms.

In this chapter I further develop the central argument of my study by surveying the on-going debate within the discipline surrounding history-of-the-book projects. Specifically, I demonstrate that national histories of the book, while popular models for collecting and organizing print history, are also potentially insular and limiting vehicles for the study of the book or any print media. Secondly, I outline the existing research on the history of the nineteenth-century international book trade. While a great deal of research has been done on nineteenth-century Britain's, America's, Canada's, and Australia's individual national book trades, as well as the transatlantic book trade between Britain and America, the history of the international distribution and circulation of books and texts between and among these countries during this period has largely been overlooked. Thirdly, I state the parameters and limitations of my study, and I conclude by outlining each chapter of my study.

History of the Book

Print Culture has the potential to be an interdisciplinary field that incorporates the works of book and print historians, bibliographers, cultural theorists, librarians, and other academics. The Society of History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing (SHARP) agrees that the field is "not only about books per se: broadly speaking, it concerns the creation, dissemination, and reception of script and print, including newspapers, periodicals, and ephemera" (http://www.sharpweb.org). Other academics have extended the definition of Print Culture to include electronic print media and other types of media (Jordan and Patten 11; Jenisch 331-34). The diverse nature of the field results in a *polyvocal* display of differing opinions regarding the name of the field, what should be studied, and whether such a diffuse field needs a unifying theory and methodology.[7] Scholars of Print Culture agree that this relatively new field currently lacks homogeneity and is elastic in its definition of what comprises Print Culture. However, the field is beginning, at its present juncture of "academic identity formation," to consolidate around the creation of a number of national history-of-the-book projects (Wirten 3). While I conceive of Print Culture as an interdisciplinary field, the current focus on national history-of-the-book studies and other book-centric projects suggests that the field's potential interdisciplinarity is threatened. If Print Culture is to be an interdisciplinary field, academic organizations like SHARP or the recently formed Canadian Association for the Study of Book Culture (CASBC) must do more than just proclaim their inclusivity (http://casbc-acehl.dal.ca/main.htm). Associations and academics need to foster a dialogue on what is Print Culture and what is the role of history-of-the-book projects in the field.

In the late twentieth century, the book became the focal point of large-scale collaborative projects within Print Culture with "the establishment of national book histories in Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, England, Australia, and the United States" (Brake 131). Book histories are defined by participants as comprehensive national surveys that fill the gaps in our knowledge of the history of print. Moreover, scholars view the national surveys as consolidating and networking projects that provide a staging ground for future national and international comparative studies in Print Culture. For instance, on the History of the Book in Canada's website (http://www.hbic.library.utoronto.ca/), the primary objective of the History of the Book in Canada (HBiC)

> is to produce a three-volume interdisciplinary history of the book in Canada from the beginnings to 1980.... HBiC/HLIC will establish a research model for Canadian book history which is broadly based in cultural, literary, social, and economic studies; and will contribute to the consolidation of the discipline and to the training of young scholars.

However, while projects, such as HBiC, promise an "interdisciplinary history," the academics involved plan to write a national history of the book, not a national history of print. For example, in *HBiC Volume One: Beginnings to 1840* (2004), editors Patricia Fleming, Gilles Gallichan, and Yvan Lalonde argue that the first volume of the project considers other textual forms but foregrounds the importance of the book over other types of text in the development of North America: "Products of the same technical and intellectual revolution, the printed book and the exploration of the New World were destined to nourish each other. For Europe, North America was a revelation of which the book was to become both witness and messenger" (3). In *Volume One: Beginnings to 1840*, HBiC limits its focus to the origins of Canada's book trade and to the role of the printed book in the development of British North America (6).

Eva Hemmungs Wirten argues that academics need to examine the effects of large-scale projects, such as HBiC, on Print Culture and "what *kind* of knowledge they produce" (3).[8] Wirten wonders whether such projects "reinforce … a particular form of knowledge production that mirrors, rather than questions some of the basic presuppositions of Book History."[9] Wirten contends that these national projects are "a goldmine of information on where to take Book History," but that currently she is "witnessing an invisible solidification of a certain set of implicit structures that quite inadvertently might reinforce Book History's own inherent theoretical and methodological assumptions rather than challenge or revitalize them" (3-4).

I agree with Wirten's contention that a national history of the book program is a potentially important repository of knowledge, but such a project often lacks self-reflexive awareness of the theoretical and methodological structures that surround its construction. However, in contemplating the prominence of history-of-the-book projects within Print Culture, I would go farther than Wirten's tempered critique and argue that the projects construct problematic histories of the development of print culture, especially the movement of books within, between, and among nations. Also, I would add that these projects undermine the scope of Print Culture by privileging the book as the primary object of study, as well as over-emphasizing the importance of national geography as the "given investigative point-of-departure" of Print Culture (Wirten 4).[10]

For example, *HBiC Volume One: Beginnings to 1840* focuses on the development of local and regional book trades, as well as the growth of literacy in British North America. While references are made in a number of articles to the early print trade's connections and communications with businesses outside of British North America's borders, HBiC's stated mandate is to produce a history of the book *in* Canada, and consequently, the articles always return to the focus of print culture within British North America's geographical borders (Hare and Wallot 71; Dilevko 289). Only Fiona Black's and George Parker's respective articles explicitly address colonial Canada's involvement with the larger regional economy of North America and individual authors' and publishers' participation in a nineteenth-century transatlantic book trade. For instance, Black examines the importation and availability of books in British North America. She argues that a small population and a lack of developed transportation routes were two reasons why the early book trade primarily concerned importation and distribution, not production (115). Black writes that colonists often circumvented the British Navigation Act of 1696, which prohibited British goods being transported in anything but British ships, trading directly with Europe and Ireland (116). She also notes that by the turn of the nineteenth century a New York connection was common for suppliers of books to

Upper and Lower Canada (116). Black's article strongly suggests that at the same time that a book trade was struggling for survival in British North America, a transatlantic book trade was developing. Moreover, Parker acknowledges the transnational flow of books and culture in both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and he argues that eighteenth-century colonial authors often wrote for audiences in Europe ("Courting" 339). He also contends that by the mid nineteenth century, authors began to seek publication abroad and "accepted their roles in the international community" (347-51).

However, Black's and Parker's respective articles both consider the existence of the transregional and transatlantic book trades only as a consequence of the lack of development of a local British North American book trade. The stated mandate of HBiC constrains what contributors, such as Black and Parker, can write about as the focus is on the history of the book *within* British North America—the history of Canadian publishers, authors, and others involved in the print trade *outside* Canada and the influence of other trades on the development of Canadian print culture is consequently truncated, if not completely excised, from HBiC. For example, Black concentrates on the fact that "[n]o cohesive book trade existed in the British North American colonies prior to 1840. Rather, a web of separate regional networks, several of them overlapping, determined the distribution of books, and no one place had pre-eminence" (117). Similarly, Parker states that British North American authors often sought European publishers, primarily due to the obstacles to local publication and dissemination ("Courting" 342). Both articles emphasize the idea that piecemeal transregional and transatlantic cooperation and commerce developed only as a stop gap, because British North America lacked an independent book publication and distribution system. Also, Black's and Parker's respective articles are by necessity short; they have neither the mandate nor the space to explore other concurrent developments in the transatlantic book trade that shed light on British North America's, and later Canada's, involvement with an international book trade. HBiC examines the history of the book in both English- and French-speaking Canada, and each volume is split between an examination of the development of the trade in each culture. Consequently, there is room in the 540-page *Volume One: Beginnings to 1840* for only the briefest description and analysis of topics relating to the history of the print trade in British North America, and there is no space for a consideration of the influence of international trade on the development or lack of development of a British North American book trade.

Wallace Kirsop also agrees with Wirten that national book histories are important and necessary additions that fill the gaps "in our knowledge of bookselling," but the projects are problematic models for the study of print history. Kirsop believes that the projects often produce inaccurate histories because book historians fall prey to a "location fallacy" that leads to an insular focus on the importance of a nation's geography on the growth and development of the book trade:

> It cannot be said too often, it seems, that the location fallacy is specially dangerous in book history. What is essential is not remoteness from some metropolitan centre or other, but sharing the same language and cultural heritage whatever regional variations there may be. One is a citizen of the English-, French- or German-speaking world. ("From Colonialism" 325)

Kirsop contends "in an age that puts a strong emphasis on the parochial and national" scholars forget about the transnational flow of books. For example, Australian book buyers in the 1870s and 1880s had "a realistic expectation of seeing in the colonial capitals a very wide selection of recent literature in the English language" (325). Kirsop suggests that the same fiction popular in Australia was popular elsewhere in the English-speaking world. However, histories of the book, and the field in general, often neglect the shared language and culture of English-speaking countries as a factor that affected the development of national book trades. Kirsop accepts that distance was a minor influence on the development of the Australian book trade, but he also contends that the common culture of the English-speaking world was a much more salient factor for explaining the growth of both the Australian market and the international trade in English-language books. Persuaded by Geoffrey Blainey's work on the importance of isolation on the development of Australia, many academics erroneously focus on Australia's distance from England as the primary influence on how that book industry developed, rather than the influence of a shared English-language culture on the growth of the book trade in Australia and elsewhere.[11]

Robert Gross agrees with Kirsop that national histories of the book ignore the transnational flow of books and culture. However, whereas Kirsop blames this ignorance on an over-reliance on the influence of geography on the history of the book, Gross argues that history-of-the-book projects construct false geographies of the nation that in turn produce inaccurate histories of the book. National projects study the history of the book within fixed geographical borders. For example, the

HBiC surveys the history of the book within the physical boundaries that demarcate Canada. However, national borders "were immaterial to the drive for profits" of capitalist enterprise (Gross 116). National projects often fail to take into account the larger international field within which book trades interacted and developed. Gross believes that national histories of the book need to acknowledge "the permeability of national borders in the realms of commerce and culture. Otherwise, we may find, the 'solid' histories we aim to build will shortly 'melt into air'" (110).

National histories of the book run the risk of falsely linking the development of a national book trade to the growth of the nation. Print historians, influenced by the work of Benedict Anderson, accept as a given the close connection between the growth of the nation and the growth of the book trade (110). Anderson argues that the growth of print-capitalism and the "creation of large new reading publics" (40) in the nineteenth century directly influenced the growth of the nation, defined as "an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (6). He believes that "print-languages laid the bases for national consciousness … they created unified fields of exchange and communication" (44). Print enabled the creation of nations "as a deep, horizontal comradeship[s]" that promoted and underscored the "fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited [national] imaginings" (7).

In contrast, both Gross and Homi Bhabha contend that the nation cannot be defined as simply a shared national identity or narrative "within homogeneous empty time" (Bhabha 309). As opposed to Anderson who posits "deep horizontal comradeship," Bhabha argues that national identity is fractured and always changing or mutating. Print does not support a single all-encompassing timeless cultural and political identity. Both Bhabha and Gross believe that print repeatedly provides the tools for re-imaging cultural and political affiliations (Bhabha 310; Gross 110). Nevertheless, Gross contends that it is still fashionable in Print Culture to utilize Anderson's argument to stress "the close connections between print culture and the invention of modern nations" (108).[12] Modern media "shrank the globe, annihilating time and space. Millions read the same news, saw the same images, craved the same goods. Theirs was a standardized experience of mass culture, and if the content differed from nation to nation, the effects did not" (109). However, Gross believes that the printing press continually recast political loyalties and cultural affinities. He insists that borders of the nation are never stable or finite; instead, a nation's geography is fluid and permeable. A national book history like HBiC tends to focus primarily on the book trade within the traditional and historical boundaries of Canada. However, Gross reasons that this tendency of national book histories neglects the fluidity of both real and imagined Canadian borders. Moreover, an insular focus on the national book trade risks overlooking the shared cultural geography of North America and Europe that offset any physical borders between the countries. Gross reminds academics that book trades were not necessarily confined within nations: "Heedless of borders, the printing press recast political loyalties and cultural affinities time and again, on the levels of town, region, nation, and beyond" (110).

National histories of the book negate the 'actual' history of national book trades because historians erroneously adopt Benedict Anderson's idea of stable national boundaries (108). Focusing on the book trade within the borders of the nation limits the history of the book to a narrative of the growth of a national book trade. As Gross suggests the "spotlight on 'nation' can obscure as much as it reveals" (118), and any history must explore the "uncharted territory" and "hazy boundaries" of a national book trade, examining the transnational interactions that the book industry had with other businesses (120). For example, the HBiC needs to include in future volumes more research that builds on Black's and Parker's respective articles, as well as produce research that explores "the permeability of national borders in the realms of commerce and culture" (110).[13] Otherwise HBiC risks overlooking the connections a Canadian national book trade has to the "transnational community."

The examples that I draw upon in the introduction are primarily from HBiC; however, my criticism that HBiC is an example of a history-of-the-book project that is too focused on print's role in the growth of the nation is a salient critique of both other national projects and the tendency within the discipline to regard a national book trade as a precursor to regional or international commerce (Eliot "An International History of the Book?" 7). For example, the History of the Book in America (HBiA), while acknowledging the existence of a transatlantic book trade as early as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, overlooks the transpacific flow of English-language books in the nineteenth century between and among the United States, Japan, Australasia, and Asian colonies (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, pp 48-9).[14] Moreover, the focus of the majority of the articles in *HBiA Volume One: The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World* (2000) is the growth of an American book trade in relation to the development of the nation during the eighteenth century and not, as the title implies, the transatlantic book trade (Amory and Hall).[15] Furthermore, the conference “Les mutations de livre et l’édtion dans le monde du XVIII siècle l’an 2000” and the subsequent publication of the same title, examine the three dominant European models of the book trade—British, French, and German systems—and how they were adopted and adapted by other nations. The underlying assumption of the conference and publication, which also permeates the discipline as a whole, is that colonial book trades are variants of one of the three European book-trade models (Raven 19). In the edited volume of conference papers, whether the subject is the United States, Australia, India, Canada, or elsewhere, the articles tend to examine which national model the trade in question resembles and how that model changed as the trade develop alongside the growth of the nation. While the last section of the book examines the internationalization of the book trade, Jacques Michon merely suggests it is a further development of national book trades in the twentieth century (14-15). Whereas Michon erroneously implies that a national or local book trade is a precursor to international trade, I believe that international trade develop *concurrently* with regional or local book trades in the United States, Canada, Australia, and elsewhere in the nineteenth century.

At SHARP’s annual conference in Lyon, 20-23 July 2004, Simon Eliot, the chair of the plenary session entitled “An International History of Popular Fiction,” argued that future international studies of the book can only develop after the completion of national history-of-the-book projects in Canada, Australia, the United States, and elsewhere. He remarked that participants in history-of-the-book studies recognize the paradox at the heart of national book histories: even though books and manuscripts have always been "relentlessly and inescapably international," these projects still focus on the national stage ("International History of the Book?" 7). Consequently, Eliot's acknowledgement that books are international objects undermines his assertion that national history-of-the-book projects must be completed before any international history-of-the-book endeavours can be developed. Eliot, Michon, and others in the discipline contend that a national or local book trade is a precursor to international trade. However, I suggest that trade does not necessarily evolve out of local businesses that eventually enter the realm of global commerce; instead, histories of globalization suggest that global trade coexists and simultaneously develops on a continuum with local, national, and regional levels of commerce (Held et al 15).

Robert Gross still believes in the validity and promise of collaborative histories. He accepts that at the centre of any history of the book is a history of the "making and unmaking of nations" (110). The *challenge* of such a project is how to write and structure a history of the book that focuses on the national narrative yet is also aware of the transnational flux and flow of social and cultural history. Nevertheless, Gross acknowledges that another problem with history-of-the-book projects is that the histories associate the growth of the nation with the growth of a national book trade and culture, and print historians often find their national book trades lacking in terms of independence and development when compared to their older English and European counterparts. Print historians are often frustrated "literary nationalists [who] frequently betray [anxiety] at the failure of their predecessors to measure up to metropolitan standards of achievement" (111). According to Gross, this frustration explains

> the excessive attention bestowed by historians of American printing on the first appearance of a press, colony by colony, state by state, as the U.S. expanded across the continent and on the first fruits of native production in the field of letters. I notice a similar nationalist regard for the step-by-step advance of local printing in each Canadian province .... Such moments herald the cultural coming-of-age of Canadian people, just as they signal the ritual maturation of American settlers. (111)

Both HBiA and HBiC trace the historical development of their print culture from dependent satellites of the European and British markets to independent industries. However, while Gross recognizes that those involved with these projects tend *anxiously* to compare their development to the European book trades, he neglects the larger implications of the combining of these narratives of progress of the nation and the development of a national print trade. Ross elides the foundational problem of history-of-the-book projects, which is that collaborative studies generally assume that the narrative of the growth of the nation is connected to a narrative of the growth of a national book trade. The projects accept that there *is* a national history to be retold, and in the case of Canada or Australia, how the trades started as colonial satellites of the British book industry and gradually developed throughout the last three centuries.[16]

While Wallace Kirsop argues that a serious problem within the field is that academics often fall prey to a "location fallacy" ("From Colonialism" 325), I believe of larger concern is that the major collaborative projects within print culture are structurally inclined toward a national fallacy. History-of-the-book projects generally assume that a symbiotic relationship exists between the rise of the nation and the growth of the book trade. Therefore, starting with the premise that a nation's book trade and culture developed alongside the nation signifies that the resultant *product* of the history of the book will conform to a national mould.

History-of-the-book projects generally follow a metanarrative structure that begins with the struggles of a nascent book trade and that climaxes with the rise of a national book trade. For example, Kirsop argues that there were four distinct stages in the development of the Australian book trade that start with the founding of the colony in 1788 when there was simply no organized trade in imported books ("Bookselling" 17). It is important to note that Kirsop's division of the history of the book in Australia into four stages is not unique, as the discipline generally conceives of the growth of any national book trade in terms of three or four stages that trace the evolution of a trade from dependence to independence. Kirsop's second stage begins in the 1820s and ends in the 1850s and is characterized by the emergence of regular bookshops, learned societies, subscription libraries, and mechanics' institutes (20-21). The third stage of growth of the Australian book trade coincides with the emergence of Australian national sentiment and a desire to establish the country as a nation independent of England. The Australian book trade during the mid to late nineteenth century established London agencies that supported the expansion of the trade between Australia and England (32). This period also marks the development of an Australian publishing trade as local authors were published for the national and international markets. Finally, the fourth stage, which Kirsop argues is still with us, commences at the end of the nineteenth century when British and American publishing houses established Australian branches that eventually squeezed out the local publishing and distributing firms, leading to a closed-market system controlled by overseas firms (41-42). The four stages start and end with the Australian trade as a satellite of the American and British book industries.

Problems arise when a national book trade either fails fully to develop or exists only for a brief period. For example, academics have to reconcile the fitful independence of the Australian and Canadian national book trades with the more successful political and social development from British colonies to autonomous nations. Kirsop focuses on the third stage of the Australian book trade as a transitory moment of a national independent book trade. He celebrates this period as the pinnacle of Australian publishing and then spends the rest of the article explaining why an independent book trade was so short-lived and eventually led to the fourth stage for which "[w]e are still paying—a century later—the high price for letting control of book importation slip out of our hands" (42). Kirsop traces the modern state of affairs back to this failure to establish a local Australian book trade, and similarly other academics search through history for the explanation or excuse for why their national book trade only momentary succeeded or failed to develop fully. The denouement of a history of the book in Australia, as with Canada, is that having attained a level of independence in the late nineteenth century, the local markets subsequently became postcolonial satellites of the globally dominant British and American book industries.

Consequently, academics tend to focus on the late nineteenth century as a brief period of promise before the Canadian and Australian markets succumbed to the larger American and British book industries. However, academics are left to explain why their respective countries failed to develop and/or sustain vibrant independent book trades and culture beyond the late nineteenth century. For instance, Carole Gerson argues that publishing is "'as Canadian as possible, under the circumstances'" (309).[17] She contends that the marginality of the Canadian book trade is due to its geography:

> the country is huge and thinly populated. The English-language book market comprises about 20 million people, most of whom live within 100 miles of the American border .... A tidal wave of mass culture, in all media, floods northward ... the book producers of English-speaking Canada survive through two strategies: niche specialization, and government assistance. (308)

Gerson believes that the history of the Canadian book trade is a David-and-Goliath struggle, where the weaker and smaller Canadian book trade was overwhelmed in the nineteenth century by the American and British book industries. The history of the Canadian book trade and culture is apologetically described in terms of an almost fruitless struggle towards a national book industry whose failure was precipitated by Canada's geographical proximity to England and the United States. Both Gerson and Kirsop exhibit anxiety over this perceived failure on the part of their respective book trades to attain national independence, and they are left explaining or rationalizing why their book trades failed to live up to their national expectations.

The dominance of history-of-the-book programs within Print Culture is only problematic if those involved in the projects refuse to examine the implicit structures that brace the field's "own inherent and methodological assumptions" (Wirten 3).[18] Print Culture needs "to question old truths regarding method and theory as well as the basic requirement of the nation-state as our given investigative point-of-departure" (4). Otherwise, these collaborative history-of-the-book projects, which promise to consolidate the field and promote future research, risk becoming nothing more than apologetic and insular histories. Worse, academics waste time trying to fit the history of a book trade and culture into a national mould; in the process they risk inaccurately and falsely surveying the history of the book. This dominant and insular focus on a nation's book history threatens the field with stagnation. I believe that the answer is not to abandon history-of-the-book programs but to examine the metanarrative that structures such projects. Academics should not gauge the success or failure of a nation's book trade and culture in terms of this metanarrative. Moreover, academics need to expand the field of study beyond the national stage in order to incorporate other perspectives on the historical development of print trade and culture. Arguing that Print Culture needs first to produce national histories in order to consolidate the field and train young scholars, before expanding the scope of research, artificially isolates a country's book trade. Studies of the transnational flow of book and culture and the influence that this global English-language book community had on national book trades are needed alongside national book histories.

International Book Trade

While I have so far concentrated on the structural problems of history-of-the-book projects and the dominant role of these programs in Print Culture, this is not to say that national book histories are the only studies currently underway. The breadth of research in Print Culture reflects the field's interdisciplinary and eclectic nature. At

SHARP's annual conference in The Hague, 11-14 July 2006, topics of papers included sixteenth-century female readers in England, Japanese print culture, book trade connections between Eastern and Western Europe, eighteenth-century German translations of French novels, and the nineteenth-century transatlantic literacy textbook trade (http://www.kb.nl/hkc/congressen/sharp2006/program-en.html). However, even with the escalating interdisciplinarity of Print Culture and the scope of research in evidence at the conference, on the opening day of the conference there was a round-table discussion of national histories of the book, and many papers presented at the annual meeting focused on the history of books within a national setting. As Robert Gross and Eva Hemmungs Wirten correctly assess, national book histories take precedence over other types of Print Culture research and define the orthodox methodological and theoretical approaches of the field. Consequently, as I have discussed, the national projects that have reached completion and that are currently underway influence other types of research, especially transnational studies of print media.

Michael Winship suggests, "if national histories of the book tend to overlook or ignore the international trade, they only reflect long-standing disciplinary divisions within literary and cultural history along national lines" ("Transatlantic" 99). He argues that "an international history of the book has much to teach by demonstrating the great extent to which books and texts have been shared across borders and oceans." Examining a national book trade in isolation negates the influence of the trades upon each other and ignores the global circulation of books. Moreover, history-of-the-book projects often disregard the booksellers, printers, publishers, and other agents of the book trade who either worked outside the national stage or had companies that spanned the local, regional, national, and international markets. For example, Australian Edward Petherick, George Robertson's London manager, is primarily remembered by academics in a national context as a librarian and a collector of rare Australiana and as one of the main donors of books that helped establish the National Library of Australia.[19] Neglected is Petherick's influential role in the expansion and promotion of an overseas book trade in the late nineteenth century.[20] Winship is part of a group of academics who endeavour to overcome the traditional "disciplinary divisions" that are evident in Print Culture (99) and that lead to academics ignoring the book trade and culture beyond the national stage. In the following section, I survey Winship's work on the transatlantic trade in books between Europe and the United States—the primary focus of transnational studies—as well as evaluate the scope of current research on the nineteenth-century international book trade.

However, before I review this research it is important to note that in the last couple of years or so, the field has generally become more interested in the study of the international book trade and culture. In the winter 2003 edition of *SHARP News*, Simon Eliot writes that those "involved in one way or another in the various national histories of the book currently being written—have for some time been aware of a paradox lurking at the heart of our subject … [the] studies will tell us the same thing. The trade in texts has always been relentlessly and inescapably international" ("An International History of the Book?" 7). Eliot asks "[i]n what reasonable sense, then, can one study a national book trade without taking other nations' books into account."

He requests that those interested join him in an email discussion "with the aim of designing an international research programme that would help us move one step closer to an international history of the book."[21] Beyond incorporating international history within national book programs, Eliot wants to develop a global history of the book. Also, Eliot's call for contributors comes in the same edition of *SHARP News* as Wirten's critique of the national bias of Print Culture (3-4). Moreover, emphasizing the interest in the international book trade and culture, the main topic of SHARP's 2004 conference was "Crossing Borders: cultural transfers between the old and new worlds, on both sides of the Atlantic and Pacific" (*SHARP News* 6). Similarly, the 2005 conference theme was "Navigating Texts and Contexts" and the 2006 conference theme was "Trading Books—Trading Ideas": both themes continuing the idea of examining cultural and social exchanges across national borders. Furthermore, SHARP's website currently includes links to an array of projects that promise to add to the limited body of research regarding the international book trade (http://www.sharpweb.org). For example, the University of London's Centre for Manuscript and Print Studies commenced in 2006 "a major national and international scholarly project" that charts the history of Oxford University Press (http://ies.sas.ac.uk/cmps/Projects/OUP/index.htm). Nevertheless, while there has been a renewed interest in international book trade and culture, there still exist few publications on the subject and most of the work has focused on the transatlantic trade.

Michael Winship examines the extent of trade relations between Britain and the United States, concentrating on the related problems of book piracy and the lack of international copyright law, which were the principal irritants in nineteenth-century Anglo-American relations ("Transatlantic" 102). He analyzes both American and British custom documents from 1828 to 1868. They reveal "the tremendous, even exponential, growth in international trade over the period, especially exports from Britain and imports into the United States" (99). Winship contends that by 1850 British books were commonly pirated in the United States, and "many American works were pirated in England." As a consequence, trade relations between the two countries grew strained, though individual publishers on both sides of the Atlantic sometimes extended trade courtesy and would send money to the foreign owner of the text.[22] Finally, Winship argues that in the last two decades of the nineteenth century the British and American book trades worked together towards an international copyright treaty that benefited both sides in the raucous debate ("Rise" 302-03).

James West and James Barnes, in their respective studies, further explore nineteenth-century Anglo-American relations and the extent of the interaction between the British and American book trades. West explains that American and British publishers "defined themselves by reference to each other, they borrowed business strategies from one another, and they were very interested in each other's markets" (357). He believes that "[t]hese early cross-influences between British and American publishing houses were important, not only to the book industries in Great Britain and the United States, but to the general intellectual development of both countries" (374). Barnes focuses on the cross-border cycles of boom and bust in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries in both the American and British book trades that were "economic impetuses to innovation" (209). He argues that as both

American and British publishers and booksellers lost market share because of periodical down turns in the economy, they had to look beyond regional and national borders for new customers (210). Increased trade between England and the United States was the outcome of the cycles of economic depression that led both American and British publishers to enter each other's market (211). Barnes, West, and Winship all agree that during this period the borders between the American and British trades blurred, as they became interested in the other's market, as international copyright law developed, and as a host of other political and cultural factors influenced the growth of the transatlantic book trade.

Existing scholarship on the transatlantic book trade also extends to the nineteenth-century commerce between Canada and Britain, and Canada and the United States. For example, Allan Smith examines the dominance of American reprints in the Canadian market. He argues that even if the works of British authors were in demand, Canadians often acquired their books from American publishers and printers (15). Moreover, in her surveys of the nineteenth-century publication of Thomas Chandler Haliburton's popular sketches, *The Clockmaker: Or The Sayings And Doings of Samuel Slick, Of Slickville*, Ruth Panofsky contends that Haliburton, like other early Canadian authors, had to look outside his colony for publication. *The Clockmaker* first appeared as "Recollections of Nova Scotia" "in the *Novascotian* from 23 September 1835 to 11 February 1836. The revised and enlarged book of thirty-three sketches was published [in Halifax] by Joseph Howe in 1836; it was so popular that it was quickly reprinted in London and Philadelphia. A second series, with the same title, was published in 1838 by Howe [in Halifax] and [by] Richard

Bentley [in London] … and a third series in 1840 by Bentley" (Parker, "Introduction" xvii). Haliburton, slighting his first publisher, fellow Nova Scotian Joseph Howe, offered his third series and subsequent work to Bentley (Panofsky, "3rd Series" 7), hoping that a British imprint would "secure financial gain from his writing, which was not possible in the British North-American market" (Panofsky, "2nd Series" 25). Similarly, Gwendolyn Davies argues that "implied possibilities [financial and critical success] were enough to drive Canadian writers [like Samuel Douglass Smythe Huyghue, May Agnes Fleming, and James De Mille] to extraordinary lengths to publish abroad" (146). She adds in her study of Canadians who published outside Canada in the nineteenth century that these "writers seeking external recognition … began to position Canadian literature on the international map" (146). While other researchers have explored topics relating to the transatlantic book trade similar to Davies's, Panofsky's, and Smith's, the primary source of information on the relationship between, on the one hand, the book trade between Britain and its North American colonies, and, on the other, the larger British and American book industries is George Parker's *The Beginnings of the Book Trade in Canada* (1985).

While not an exclusive examination of the Canadian-American and Canadian-British relations, Parker's study considers the related issues of piracy and copyright, and how Canadian publishers, printers, and booksellers each reacted to the lack of international copyright in the nineteenth century. During this period, inexpensive American imprints of British and Canadian books flooded the Canadian market, and Canadian businesses had trouble competing against the cheaper products of the American pirates (*Beginnings* 130). However, enterprising Canadian publishers, such as John Lovell, challenged the status quo in the 1870s when they attempted to develop a reprint industry: "Lovell's plan was to develop a … reprint industry based on local editions of popular British and American works, and then to expand into the American market. He could proceed either by copying the American pirates or by arranging contracts with British authors and publishers" (169). Lovell initially acted as a pirate in order to demonstrate the unfairness of existing copyright laws. The American book trade generally viewed Lovell's actions as threatening their industry. Editorials in American newspapers described the threat as a "Canadian Invasion," and J.W. Harper, a leading New York publisher, raised the possibility of retaliation against England for allowing the Canadian pirates to go unchecked (215). Because "Canadian reprints … would undoubtedly circulate (illegally) in the United States and probably find their way into the United Kingdom" (171), British publishers often refused to sell the colonial copyrights of popular British books to Canadian companies.

Parker agrees with Winship that the defining issue of the transatlantic book trade in the nineteenth century was the lack of an international copyright agreement. While Parker argues that the international copyright problem, and related issue of piracy, helped to shape the modern Canadian book trade, he does not consider the broader influence these issues had upon the growth of an international book trade. He is primarily interested in tracing the history of a national book trade, not accounting for the involvement of Canadians in the concurrent development of an international book trade in the nineteenth century. More recently in *HBiC Volume One: Beginnings to 1840*, Parker surveys both the obstacles to publication and dissemination locally and the cultural and economic prestige linked to overseas publications for Canadian authors ("Courting" 342). In *HBiC Volume Two: 1840-1918,* he reviews his arguments in *Beginnings* regarding the combined influence of the issues of piracy and copyright on Canadian publishers in the nineteenth century ("English-Canadian" 148-59). His article is preceded by Gwendolyn Davies' study of Canadian authors publishing outside of Canada in the mid to late nineteenth century. While Parker's and Davies's articles are more recent publications, they cover similar ground and research found in *Beginnings*. Consequently, large gaps remain in our knowledge of Canada's role in the international book trade, and the extent to which this international trade influenced the development or lack of development of the Canadian book market.

While initial studies concentrated on the transatlantic flow of books between North America and Europe, more recent work examines the movement and influence of English-language books within the British Empire. For example, Bill Bell writes about the "connection between the circulation of texts and the preservation of cultural identity under strange skies" (116). Bell examines the importance of Scottish literature in sustaining and supporting the Scottish emigrant community abroad; as well as how the global circulation of literature generally sustained transplanted cultural networks (122). Also, Rimi Chatterjee examines the importance of English literature in supporting British cultural networks in India. Chatterjee surveys the pre-colonial history of print in India, as well as the impact of British books on the Indian populace. He argues that literacy and reading in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries were seen as tools that could be used by the British to prompt

Indians to support the East India Company ("How India" 102). English books were used to teach Indians to value and crave British manufactured goods, and to respect British culture and the Christian religion. As a result, throughout the nineteenth century there was an escalating demand for textbooks, as well as fiction, for use in Indian schools and homes. Moreover, after the Suez Canal opened in 1869, both British and European publishers competed for the increasingly profitable Indian market (105).

Another important addition to the study of the international trade in English-language books is Graeme Johanson's *A Study of Colonial Editions in Australia, 1834-1972* (2000), which is the first published study of the history of colonial editions and the competition between Australian, British, and American publishers over the Australian market. Colonial editions were traditionally inexpensive imprints of British books solely for the colonial market and were offered to distributors at a wholesale discount:

> The colonial edition, created by British publishers for colonial readers, began in 1843 as a hasty, experimental expedient and ended in 1972 as a cornerstone of British-Australian control over production, distribution and sale of all books in Australia .... In the nineteenth century the 'colonials' were key ambassadors for new British fiction. Australian authors relied on them, sometimes grudgingly, to achieve publication in book form and for recognition in overseas markets, and to reach the entire Australian market effectively and over long periods of time. British publishers held them in high esteem not only as the most profitable portion of the publishing programme of an average new British novel, but also for the simply-won extra profit which they provided when the stereotype plates or unbound sheets of another publisher were used in lieu of a new edition. Australian booksellers—whether importers, agents, wholesalers, distributors, travelling sales representatives or bookstore owners—thrived on their predictable and widespread sale, always promoted by advance publicity and often by pre-publication ordering. (Johanson 2-3)

Graeme Johanson examines the colonial edition as a cultural artefact and studies "the trade structures surrounding its creation and dissemination, and the businesses and other organisations which supported it" (1).[23] Also, he explores the international business transactions of a number of Australian publishers and booksellers, including Edward Petherick and George Robertson, who were central figures in the development of the colonial edition.

While Johanson discusses Australia's role in the nineteenth-century international book trade, his study focuses on international commerce only as it relates to the colonial edition in Australia. For example, he describes Robertson's and Petherick's partnerships with British firms in order to secure colonial editions for the Australian market (27-31). However, he does not mention Petherick's business trip in 1878 to Canada and the United States for the purpose of securing new lucrative partnerships for Robertson with North American publishers (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 320). Also, he does not fully explore Robertson's or Petherick's roles in the publication, marketing, and distribution of all types of English texts throughout Australasia, Europe, North America, and elsewhere. As a result, Johanson's substantial work only focuses on the transactions between Britain and Australia, regarding colonial editions, and further study is warranted on the Australasian market and Australia's role in the international trade in English-language books. Moreover, while Michael Winship, James West, and others have studied the nineteenth-century transatlantic trade, few studies have been published on the book trade between North America and Australasia. Therefore, the objective of my study is twofold: first, I augment the existing research on the late nineteenth-century international trade in English-language books; secondly, I demonstrate that international commerce was increasingly as important as local business, if not more so, for those involved in the sale and distribution of books.

Scope and Limitations

The twenty-five-year interval from 1870 to 1895 was an important period in the development of the international book trade. By 1895, publishers, authors, booksellers, and others involved in the business of books found it necessary to compete on an international stage. The cross-border circulation of books was not a new development, as the transnational trade in books and texts had begun long before the nineteenth century. However, during this period international trade was particularly crucial to the success of publishing firms like Macmillan that wanted to expand their market share in England, Canada, the British Colonies, and the United States. Similarly, Australian publisher and bookseller George Robertson needed to participate in the international book trade in order to ensure his firm's supply of books and texts and secure his firm's dominance of the Australasian wholesale book market. In the late nineteenth century, foreign and colonial booksellers, publishers, and wholesalers negotiated and worked with each other, and with their British counterparts; as well, they competed against each other for a share of this emerging international English-language book market. Between the years 1870 and 1895, the international circulation of books grew exponentially as publishers, wholesalers, booksellers, and others involved in the book trade sought to capitalize and develop new trade routes and markets.

My study focuses on the circulation of English-language books between and among England, the United States, Canada, and the Australasian colonies. Britain and other European countries also exported books to the rest of the British Empire, as well as to countries outside the Anglo-sphere of influence, such as Japan. However, in order to develop both a manageable and cohesive project, I concentrate on the largest markets for English-language books during the period between 1870 and 1895. Moreover, it is important to note that I am writing about the buying and selling of English-language books, not just literature, as none of the firms or individuals included in this study only bought or sold one particular genre of book.

I examine a number of British, Australian, Canadian, and American firms and individuals who both recognized the importance of increasing trade ties with other countries and participated in the international trade in English-language books. I concentrate on six businesses and the individuals involved in the international book trade at the end of the nineteenth century: the Australian bookselling, wholesaling, and publishing firm of George Robertson and Co.; the Australian wholesaler and publisher E.A. Petherick and Co./Colonial Book Agency; the British and American branches of publisher Macmillan and Co.; the British publisher Richard Bentley and Son; the Canadian publishing firm of John Lovell and Son; and the American publisher John W. Lovell. The late nineteenth-century business transactions of these six firms anticipated the trade's eventual acknowledgement of the need for publishers, wholesalers, and others to participate in the international book market in order to be financially successful.

There are three individuals to whom I repeatedly return in my study: Edward Petherick, George E. Brett, and his son, George P. Brett, who, in the 1870s, determined on the need for their respective firms to enter the international book market. They are exceptional figures in the international book trade because of both their beliefs in its importance and their direct participation in the development of new international trade routes and business partnerships. Edward Petherick managed George Robertson's London distribution branch from 1870 to 1887. In 1887, Petherick left Robertson and started his own international distributing agency the Colonial Book Agency and later opened a publishing firm, E. A. Petherick and Co., which specialized in colonial editions. George E. Brett was the manager of Macmillan's New York branch from 1869 to 1890, and his son George P. Brett worked for the branch in the 1880s and replaced his father in 1890 as manager. Petherick and the Bretts eclipse the other individuals and firms whom this study examines because of the wealth of available material that details their lives and businesses during the late nineteenth century. The Petherick Collection at the National Library of Australia includes hundreds of personal and business letters documenting Petherick's plans, strategies, and views regarding the international book trade, his career as George Robertson's manager, and his own publishing and wholesaling businesses. I also found letters both to Petherick and by him in the archives of Macmillan, George Allen, Grant Richards, Richard Bentley and Son, Longman, and Swan Sonnenschein, which are all part of the Chadwyck-Healey *British Publishers' Archives* on microfilm series. Also, the Macmillan archives include George E. Brett's business correspondence between 1870 and 1872 and his letters and his son's letters between 1885 and 1892 that indicate their growing interest in the international book trade; specifically, their letters reveal their interest in the Australasian and Japanese book markets (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 12, p 146).

My chapters are organized as thematic case studies in order to capitalize on both the wealth of Edward Petherick's, George E. Brett's, and George P. Brett's correspondence and the miscellaneous other archival letters and documents that indicate the interconnective and international nature of the book trade during the late nineteenth century. In the archives of Canadian author William Kirby, Canadian publishing firm Hunter Rose, and British author Wilkie Collins I uncovered additional papers and documents relating to the international book trade. For example, I found a notable amount of correspondence relating to the publication history of Kirby's *The Chien D'Or* (1877) (William Kirby Collection F1076, MS 542, p A-6). The correspondence covers the period from 1870 to 1895 and includes letters from a number of Canadian publishing firms, including Hunter Rose, Dawson Brothers, Adam Stevenson and Co, and John Lovell and Son. Moreover, there are letters to Kirby from American publishers, such as John W. Lovell and Harper Brothers, and British publishers, such as Bentley and Macmillan, relating to the publication and piracy of *The Chien D'Or*. Therefore, I deemed it necessary to include as much of the archival material as possible in my study in order to convey the existence of, and the industry's interest in, the international trade in English-language books during the late nineteenth century. Organizing my chapters as thematic case studies that explore the interactions between and among various publishers allows me to write extensively about Petherick and the Bretts, while not ignoring other publishers, booksellers, and authors involved in the international book trade but for whom fewer records survive or are readily accessible.

Outline of Chapters

The study consists of five chapters, and each chapter, not including the introduction, consists of three sections that examine different individuals or firms in relation to the topic of the chapter. However, I will not recount in the chapters the entire history of any of the firms and individuals I examine. Instead, I concentrate on the events from 1870 to 1895 that illustrate their opinions regarding, and their involvement in, the international book trade.

In the second chapter I describe the theoretical framework of my study. First, I analyze the theory and methodology traditionally used in Print Culture, and secondly, I argue that existing theory, such as Robert Darnton's communications circuit, is deeply flawed and needs to be replaced with more contextual and fluid theories of book production, circulation, and consumption. Thirdly, I examine the work of Pierre Bourdieu, who offers a theoretical framework that is neither teleological nor synchronic and is applicable to the study of the international book trade. He insists on the materiality of history and examines it as the product of practices of fluid social networks and relationships. Finally, I inject Giles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's idea of the rhizome into Bourdieu's conception of the field of literary production in order to construct a more decentred and contextual methodology for my study of the late nineteenth-century international book trade.

In the third chapter I survey Edward Petherick's correspondence with British, French, American, and colonial publishers, authors, and others involved in the book trade, which is rich with details of both the changing social attitudes towards international commerce and the effects of new transportation, communication, and printing technology on the growth of the international field of literary relations at the end of the nineteenth century. First, I use Petherick's letters to document how developments in transportation, communication, and production benefited the international trade in books. In the second section I review Petherick's letters regarding changing opinions on the importance of the international book trade to Australian, British, European, and North American publishers. In the third section I peruse a selection of letters to Petherick from Irish, British, and colonial authors eager to place their books in foreign markets. While I do not claim these attitudes are necessarily representative of the entire industry, they are illustrative of changing beliefs regarding the importance, and increasing necessity, of businesses to engage with the international trade in English-language books. For example, authors like May Laffan Hartley and Helen Reeves recognized that Australasia and the United States were developing markets that would soon rival the British and European markets in terms of both readers and book buyers. Both authors realized that they needed to place their books in Australasia and North America in order to capitalize on this growing demand for books (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, pp 47-53, 81-89, 126-128).

The fourth chapter examines how the fear of book piracy and the lack of international copyright encouraged the growth of the international book trade.

Throughout my study I review some of the other political, economic, social, and technological factors that supported, as well as hindered, the development of transnational commerce; however, piracy and the lack of an international copyright law are two issues that particularly influenced, according to Petherick and his contemporaries, the level of cooperation among networks of publishers, wholesalers, authors, booksellers, and others interested in the international book trade. First, I consider how William and George Robertson tried to harness the widespread fear of book piracy to pressure the British book trade into developing the distribution network between England and the Australasian colonies. Secondly, I survey the impact of piracy on Canadian author William Kirby, and how the piracy of *The Chien D'Or* was a double-edged sword. On the one hand, cheap pirated copies of a book might reach a wider audience that could not afford the often more expensive legitimate copy. On the other hand, the author would rarely receive remuneration from a publisher for a pirated imprint.[24] Finally, I survey articles in the American book trade periodical *The Publishers' Weekly*, from 1879, regarding the threat of Canadian book piracy and the need for an international copyright treaty. George E. Brett's and George P. Brett's letters to Frederick Macmillan provide an interesting counterpoint to the discussions in *The Publishers' Weekly* regarding copyright law and book piracy; father and son struggled with the piracy of Macmillan books and supported the development of international copyright law.

The fifth chapter examines the shift in the late nineteenth century from British publishers collaborating with their colonial counterparts to British and colonial firms competing for a share of the international book trade. First, I survey the development of Richard Bentley and Son's Foreign and Colonial Department, and the British firm's growing interest in transatlantic commerce. For example, Bentley had official and unofficial partnerships with various American firms, including Henry Holt and John W. Lovell. Also, the Foreign and Colonial Department cooperated with colonial and foreign wholesalers, publishers, and booksellers to produce and to distribute Bentley publications for the international book trade. Secondly, I review George E. Brett's and his son's correspondence regarding George P. Brett's 1887 trip to Australia and New Zealand. Both father and son, like Petherick, identified the potential of a quick trade route to South Pacific markets that utilized the transcontinental railroad across the United States and the port of San Francisco (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 12, p 146). They also advocated the firm establishing a branch office in Australia, as well as working with local publishers and booksellers. However, by the end of the nineteenth century, British and American firms were also competing with local firms for control of the Australasian market. In the final section of this chapter, I analyze the history of Petherick's ill-fated Colonial Book Agency and how the rise and fall of his business reflected the changing attitudes of British publishers toward their colonial counterparts. In 1887, a consortium of British publishers financially backed the launch of Petherick's Colonial Book Agency, which promised to sell and to distribute books internationally. Nevertheless, when Petherick's business encountered financial trouble in 1892, his financial backers refused to help. Bentley, Macmillan, Routledge, and other investors realized that they no longer needed middlemen, like Petherick, in order to gain access to the Australasian market, and therefore they did not need to finance his business. In the 1890s, British firms were less interested in working with their colonial counterparts than competing with them for control of the international book trade.

In the conclusion I reassess my arguments and the theoretical position taken in this study. A domino effect was underway in the late nineteenth century, whereby the increased international circulation of the book trade led to new trade routes, new business deals, which in turn led to further development of the trade in English-language books. Nevertheless, the growth of the field of international literary production and distribution slowed in the 1890s as a number of economic and political factors collided to cause a series of recessions in the developed world. Still, the physical and intellectual infrastructure of the international book trade did not disappear; the idea and promise of an international book trade had engaged too many people to vanish at the end of the nineteenth century.

Notes

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[1] In describing the publication and dissemination process of Roman publishers, Marjorie Plant uses the term "manuscript book" and notes that this textual product was "distinct from the later 'codex'" but that "the same general discussions as to the function of the entrepreneur, his relations with the author and with his customers, are relevant here as at the present day" (17).

[2] Michael Winship and Robert Gross, in their respective works, have both called for the study of the international trade and movement of books (Gross 107-23; Winship "Transatlantic" 98-122). In a following section of the introduction I review existing scholarship on the history of the international book trade.

[3] Australia did not become a nation until 1901. When I refer to the Australasian colonies I include all the mainland colonies, such as New South Wales and Victoria, as well as Tasmania, Fiji, and New Zealand. It is important to note that in his letters Petherick occasionally used the phrase Australasian colonies and Australian colonies interchangeably; however, he typically used the phrase Australasian colonies to refer to the larger economic region and when speaking about the mainland colonies referred to them as the Australian colonies. In the study if I am referring to the specific geographical area of the mainland colonies, I will use Australia, but if I am

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referring to the greater economic region I will use the phrase Australasian colonies or Australasia.

[4] Kirsop studies the development of an Australian national book trade and consequently does not use the term Australasian or study the development of the larger Australasian market.

[5] David Held and Anthony McGrew argue that modern globalization began in the nineteenth century (41). They contend that during this period "global circuits" of power, trade, culture, and politics developed (43). In my study, I refer to the book trade during the last quarter of the nineteenth century as international in scope; however, I believe that the book trade was part of a larger global field of trade and commerce. I use the term international rather than global because in terms of the book trade, business had yet to develop transnational corporations or "global circuits" of trade—major hallmarks of modern globalization. Therefore, I think the term international is a more appropriate descriptor of the type of book trade(s) that developed during this period of modern globalization.

[6] Held and McGrew contend that the interval between 1870 and 1895 was a defining moment in the development of modern globalization. Commerce, as well as the book trade, generally benefited from social, political, and economic changes caused by industrialization, which in turn led to advances in technology, communication, and travel: for example, "[t]he application of steam power to railways and shipping greatly improved international transport" (155). Moreover, the development of international treaties, such as the Gold Standard, which created a stable international payment system (156), also directly benefited the book trade, and promoted the growth of international trade routes and partnerships.

[7] Both Laurel Brake and Nicholas Hudson in their respective articles survey the ongoing debates in Print Culture. Also, both argue that the field is book-centric and nation-centric (Brake 125-36; Hudson 83-95).

[8] Emphasis is in the original article.

[9] Brake argues that the name of the field is currently under debate because certain names imply inclusion or exclusion of certain areas of study (125). While Wirten identifies the field as Book History, Brake argues that this label suggests the primary area of study is the book, and excludes other print matter. Moreover, Brake believes that technology has reshaped the field, increasing the scope of potential research beyond the traditional barriers of "national boundaries" (127). I agree with Brake that names such as Print Culture or Media History better reflect the current state of the field. However the name that I prefer to use is Print Culture, as this label encapsulates the interdisciplinary nature of this emerging field, and includes a multitude of potential objects of study, utilizing the broadest meaning of the word text, such as books, magazines, pamphlets, or any other text, including hypertext.

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[10] HBiC also divides each volume into an investigation of both French and English Canada's book cultures, which is problematic considering the disparate growth and development of the separate book cultures. HBiC forces the two histories into one unifying project that creates a false sense of a single Canadian history of the book whereas arguments can be made that Canadian book history cannot easily be reduced to a single historical thread and that two separate book cultures arose within Canada.

[11] While Kirsop never mentions Geoffrey Blainey's *The Tyranny of Distance* in "From Colonialism to the Multinationals: the Fragile Growth of Australian Publishing," criticism of Blainey's influential book, in which he argues that distance was the primary factor that influenced Australia's history, belies Kirsop's own argument. Blainey claims that "[d]istance is as characteristic of Australia as mountains are of Switzerland," and that "Australians have always recognized that distance or isolation was one of the moulds which shaped their history" (1). While Blainey does not claim that distance was the only element that influenced the development of the nation, he argues that it was "a central factor in Australia's history"(2). On the one hand, Blainey recognizes that "the factor of distance has been surprisingly unsuccessful as an explanation of important Australian events or situations or characteristics" (1). On the other hand, he still believes that the "idea of distance" offers a new explanation for why Australia developed differently from other English colonies (2). For example, he insists that distance "illuminates the reasons why Australia was for long such a masculine society, why it became a more equalitarian society than North America, and why it was a relatively peaceful society" (2). Many book historians still make the argument that distance was the primary factor that shaped the book industry not only in Australia but elsewhere. By adopting an argument similar to Blainey's, academics neglect the transnational flow of books and people within the English-speaking world.

[12] At the SHARP annual conference in Lyon, 20-23 July 2004, following the plenary session a question was raised regarding how the work of Benedict Anderson might be used in an international history of the book. The panel, led by Simon Eliot, generally responded that Anderson should be included in any debate on how to write or construct an international history of the book.

[13] *HBiC Volume Two: 1840-1918* (2005) includes two articles that briefly examine the transnational interactions between an emerging Canadian book trade and foreign booksellers, publishers, and others. However, Gwendolyn Davies's article on Canadian authors publishing outside of Canada and George Parker's article detailing the struggle for both national and international copyright treaties are the only two articles in *Volume Two* that directly discuss the effect of transnational exchanges on the Canadian book industry (Davies 139-46; Parker 148-59). Both *Volume One* and *Volume Two* focus on the growth of a national book trade and neglect associations the trade had to other print industries.

[14] The nineteenth-century British Asian colonies include Singapore, the Straits Settlements, and Hong Kong.

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[15] Only the first volume of HBiA has been published and my criticism is largely based on *Volume One: The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World.* It will be interesting to see if volume three, *The Industrial Book, 1840—1880*, and volume four, *Printing Motion: Books and Reading in the United States, 1880-1945*, examine the role of the United States book trade in the expansion of the global book economy and the influence of international commerce on the development of the American book trade. Volume two has not yet been published but volume three will be published in spring 2007.

[16] I am not arguing that a national book history does not exist; instead, I contend that placing book history into a national mould homogenizes the history in question. The resulting narrative *product* either discloses the successful creation of a national book trade, which follows the nation's trajectory from dependence to independence, or reveals the failure of the trade fully to become an independent national book trade.

[17] The quotation "attributed to E. Heather Scott, first gained currency from a contest held on Peter Gzwoski's nationwide CBC morning radio show in the late 1960s" (Gerson 309n).

[18] The Chair of the plenary session of the SHARP 2004 annual conference, Simon Eliot remarked that participants in the various history-of-the-book projects should be aware of the limitations of national histories and the need for future research on the transnational geography of the book trade. Also, one of the plenary panellists, Sydney Shep argued that book historians have to be conscious of the artificiality of geographical boundaries. Moreover, she contended that national book histories often end up as "self-fulfilling prophesies" that confirm and support the nation.

[19] Biscup, Ferguson, Mackaness, Fanning, and Thompson in their respective articles focus on Petherick's bibliographic endeavours and his role in the creation of the National Library of Australia.

[20] John Holroyd examines Petherick's role in establishing agreements between Robertson and British and European publishers (26-29, 37-39). Marie Cullen also writes about Petherick's tenure as Robertson's London manager (116-53); however, neither Holroyd nor Cullen write about Petherick's Colonial Book Agency or his international mail-order business.

[21] Eliot reiterated his call for an international history of the book program in an email sent to the SHARP Listserv in May 2005, but there is no evidence that anything official has resulted from Eliot's request ("International Book").

[22] For example, James West argues that George Palmer Putnam "refused to pirate British publications and insisted on paying for the right to reprint work in America" (359).

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[23] In my dissertation I consider the book as primarily a material object that circulated in the late nineteenth-century international book trade. Although, I agree with Johanson, Bell, and Chatterjee that the book is also a cultural object. The development of an international book trade in the interval between 1870 and 1895 was assisted by the Pax Britannica and imperialism (O'Brian and Williams 84-5), which I will address in my fourth chapter. However, I do not consider the effect of an international book trade on the growth of Empire. The focus of this dissertation is on establishing the existence of an international book trade in the latter part of the nineteenth century. For examples of works that investigate the interactions between the international book trade and Empire, see Johanson's, Bell's, and Chatterjee's respective studies, which include examinations of the book as a cultural object and imperial emissary.

[24] While George Putnam paid his British authors, most American publishers, like John W. Lovell or Harper Brothers, did not pay for the American publication rights of British books (West 359; Stern 263).

Chapter Two—Theory and Methodology

Print Culture developed out of a number of fields of study that drew on different and often competing methodologies and theories from Economics, History, Library Science, English, and other disciplines. While some within the field embrace Print Culture's interdisciplinary potential (Brake 136) and call for a decentred and dynamic conception of the production, distribution, and consumption of books (Jordan and Patten 11), many academics still believe that the discipline needs organization and a general methodology for the study of texts. Thus, there is a general acceptance of Robert Darnton's communications circuit as a serviceable methodology for the discipline. Specifically, academics who have adopted or adapted Darnton's model reinforce his belief that no matter how far Print Culture strays into explorations and studies of other textual forms, "for the most part, it concerns books" (Darnton, *Kiss* 107). Darnton argues that as the discipline took "on a distinct scholarly identity" (107), it needed "a general model for analyzing the way books come into being and spread through society" (110). His communications circuit, which represents a book's "life cycle," was the first general model proposed for the study of Print Culture.

However, the hegemonic status of Darnton's model is being challenged, with suggestions that his communications circuit is not a practical methodology for an interdisciplinary field. These emerging challenges critique the communications circuit for both privileging the book as the primary object of study and dictating the prescribed movement of a book that starts with the author, moves through publisher and other agents, and finishes with the reader. For example, John Jordan and Richard

Patten argue that the field needs to develop "conceptions of the activity of producing and consuming texts that decentre the principal elements and make them interactive and interdependent" (11). Jordan and Patten's decentred, contextualized, and multi-directional methodology of the "life cycle" of texts—a hypertextual model—is embraced by academics in the field who want to acknowledge Print Culture's interdisciplinarity, as well as by those scholars who seek a more inclusive approach to textual history and culture.[1] As David Finklestein and Alistair McCleery suggest, in *The Book History Reader* (2002), Darnton's prophetic claim that the field is "interdisciplinarity run riot" is borne out by the recent "explosion in book history" and by the fact that the field's "interdisciplinarity is a key strength of book history" (4). Still, this interdisciplinarity, and the recognition that there are other "methodologies and frameworks for investigating texts," is undermined by the field's focus on a *book's* history, and by the prominence given to Darnton's communications circuit in the *Reader*, the first undergraduate text on the subject of Print Culture.[2]

Moreover, while academics have called for the study of the international book trade, they maintain that national histories of the book must be completed before such projects can start.[3] However, the dogmatic focus upon national histories of the book obfuscates the intricacies of the emerging international book trade much as Darnton's linear communications circuit neglects the multidirectional "life-cycle" of texts. In contrast to this nationalizing trend in the study of Print Culture, the field must focus upon developing methodologies that more fully capture the movement of books and people in the international book trade. Consequently, I agree with Jordan and Patten that Darnton's model must be abandoned in favour of a more inclusive methodology; however, their hypertextual model is also problematic, and it does not readily represent the production, distribution, and consumption of books beyond a limited and set scope.

In this chapter I argue that a more organic conception of the movement of books and people is needed to conceptualize the international book trade. First, I analyze the theory and methodology traditionally used in Print Culture and contend that existing theories, such as Darnton's communications circuit, and Jordan and Patten's hypertextual model, are flawed and need to be replaced with more contextual theories of book production, distribution, and consumption. Secondly, I examine the work of Pierre Bourdieu, who offers an alternative framework for the study of books and the book trade. Bourdieu's *Field of Cultural Production* (1993) has gained currency among academics for offering a contextualized methodology suitable to the study of Print Culture. However, his framework fails fully to encapsulate the multi-directional flow of books, people, and ideas on an international scale. Bourdieu's field of cultural production needs to be adapted in terms of a more dynamic and decentred concept of power and capitalism. Thirdly, I infuse Bourdieu's conception of the field of cultural production with Giles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's idea of the rhizome in order to construct a more inclusive methodology for my study of the late nineteenth-century international book trade. In *A Thousand Plateaus* (1987), Deleuze and Guattari offer a positive image of capitalism's incessant urge to produce and consume within multiple decentred networks of distribution, production, and consumption. They conceive of the rhizome as an organic, adventitious network in which subjects and objects are continually engaging and reengaging, which generates further networks and circuits. In contrast to the prescribed and synthetic movement between a restricted set of agents in Darnton's communications circuit, a rhizomic field of literary production and distribution offers a decentred, contextual methodology for examining the history of the circulation of people and texts in an international field.

Existing Print Culture Methodologies and Theories

Methodological approaches within the field of Print Culture are deeply indebted to Darnton's communications circuit, which represents the production, distribution, and consumption of books in terms of a "life cycle." Darnton writes that the field's "name varies from place to place, but everywhere it is being recognized as an important new discipline. It might even be called the social and cultural history of communication by print, if that were not such a mouthful" (*Kiss* 107). However, he contends that the field is already in danger of fracturing because it is too interdisciplinary and lacks any cohesive theory or methodology:

> it now looks less like a field than a tropical rain forest. The explorer can hardly make his way across it. At every step he becomes entangled in a luxuriant undergrowth of journal articles and disoriented by the crisscrossing of disciplines … and bewildered by competing methodologies … To get some distance from interdisciplinarity run riot, and to see the subject as a whole, it might be useful to propose a general model for analyzing the way books come into being and spread through society. (110)

In *The Kiss of Lamourette* (1990), Darnton acknowledges that Print Culture does not concern itself just with the study of books, and while "[t]he field can be extended and expanded in many ways," he believes that at the centre of the field is the history of books (107). Consequently, he insists that a general model of a book's "life cycle" offers a potentially unifying methodological starting point for Print Culture, though he adds in a later essay, "What is the History of Books?" that he is "not arguing that book history should be written according to a standard formula but trying to show how its disparate segments can be brought together within a single conceptual scheme" (17). Darnton charts the "life" or history of a book as it moves within a linear communications circuit from the author to the reader. He argues that "[b]ook history concerns each phase of this process and the process as a whole, in all its variations over space and time and in all its relations with other systems, economic, social, political, and cultural" (111). The communications circuit is a synthetic model where the "life cycle" of a book is reduced to a coherent, unified account.

However, Darnton's communications circuit is overly deterministic and rigid, as the model assumes the direction of the movement of the book is always the same. In *Literature in the Marketplace* (1995), Jordan and Patten argue that Darnton's model is problematic because it privileges the book as the object of study and confines the movement of the book between a limited number of agents. The author in Darnton's circuit has contact only with the publisher and is isolated from other agents, such as booksellers, wholesalers, and printers (112). Also, while Darnton acknowledges that all stages in the circuit are "affected by the social, economic, political, and intellectual conditions of the time," he contends that "these general influences made themselves felt within a local context" ("What is the History of Books?" 17). Therefore, the circuit does not account for the variable and unpredictable nature of an international book trade and for the fact that book distribution was not always a linear movement.

Still, Darnton acknowledges that all models "have a way of freezing human beings out of history" (*Kiss* 113). In order to "put some flesh and blood" on his communications circuit, he applies it to the publishing history of Voltaire's *Questions sur l'Encyclopedie* (1770). While the model works in this specific case, the communications circuit is neither general enough to apply to every textual case study nor flexible enough to apply to the publication history of every book. In addition, Darnton's model does not address direct interactions between authors and readers. He recognizes that "[t]he reader completes the circuit because he influences the author both before and after the act of composition" (111). However, this is an indirect influence in that the writer "may respond in his writing to criticisms of his previous work or anticipate reactions that his text will elicit." The communications circuit does not allow for direct interactions between a reader and author, which may not have been an issue in terms of the eighteenth-century publishing history of Voltaire's *Encyclopedie* but becomes an issue in a modern book's publishing history. Modern authors might meet their reading public at book signings, at literary conventions, or through online web chats. Moreover, other authors actively seek interactions with their readers through websites.[4] Darnton's model overlooks the sheer randomness and speculative uncertainty of both the modern and historical book trades.

In addition, while Darnton insists his circuit examines a book's life cycle "in all its variations over space and time," his circuit also fails to account for the international movement of books. For example, in a letter dated 27 September 1879, Edward Petherick, George Robertson's London manager, wrote to Irish author May Laffan Hartley thanking her for the offer of the stereotype plates of her latest novel, The *Game Hen* (1880) (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 47).[5] However, he replied that they would take only 100 or 200 copies of the English issue for the Australasian market, as only half the order of her last book, *Flitters, Tatters and the Counsellor, and Other Sketches* (1879), which Petherick bought for resale in Robertson's Australian bookstores, had sold.[6] George Robertson's retail and wholesale business was in direct contact with authors, such as Hartley, yet this type of interaction is not represented in Darnton's communications circuit. The communications circuit neither allows for direct interactions between authors and other agents, besides the publisher, nor accounts for the *entrepreneurial* spirit of authors, like Hartley, who attempted to sell the printing plates of their publications to colonial wholesalers like Robertson.[7]

Attempting to amend Darnton's model and render it more flexible and representative of the unpredictability of a book's publishing history, Thomas Adams and Nicholas Barker call for linkages of social investigations of print culture to textual conditions and bio-bibliographical evidence. They argue that Darnton's communications circuit is weakened by the fact that it focuses on the agents or actors involved in the book trade rather than the book, and that it does not encompass a book's entire influence or life (12). Adams and Barker propose a modified circuit where the cycle of a bibliographical document—a term that includes any printed or written text—"becomes the centre: the indirect forces are seen outside it, looking and pressing inwards. Instead of six groups of people who make the communications network, we have five events in the life of a book—publishing, manufacturing, distribution, reception and survival—whose sequence constitutes a system of communication and can in turn precipitate other cycles" (15). Within the five events are further agents or parties that operate as other circuits within each respective event.[8] Adams and Barker attempt to account for the whole socioeconomic history of a text, including its survivability, while providing a "map" for the future of the history of the book (39). However, Adams and Barker's circuit is still linear in its progression between events, even though it better accounts for the different social, political, religious, and commercial pressures on a book's life cycle. Moreover, they conceive of the book as having its own "potency" or agency; while actors in their circuit are not completely stripped of agency, there exists a certain ambiguity regarding who or what has the agency to influence a book's "life cycle." Even though others within Print Culture have suggested further modifications to Darnton's original circuit, the fact remains that this communications circuit is still limiting in its scope, and, instead of unifying the discipline, it threatens to further divide it.[9]

Jordan and Patten admit that "[h]owever comforting it might be to find a bedrock … on which to construct not only a new literary criticism but also a new history of the manufacture, transmission, and reception of books, that foundation will not be located easily" (1). They argue that Print Culture still "'lacks binding theoretical coherence'" (1), and an entrenchment around a model for the history of the book only serves to exclude both those scholars who study print media and texts other than the book and those who study the circulation of the printed text beyond the local and national fields. Jordan and Patten believe that Print Culture requires a more inclusive and flexible methodology than Darnton's communications circuit. They propose a comprehensive and decentred model where the various stages of any form of a print text's "life" are interdependent and all the mediating factors are considered (11). They argue that academics need to adopt an approach to "publishing history … as hypertext," which offers structure without losing the "polyvocal" nature of the discipline.

Jordan and Patten view hypertext as revolutionary by suggesting that electronic media allow for an interplay and interconnectivity that is lacking in print. They adopt Stuart Moulthrop's point of view that "[n]ew technology promises a swerve from the level line of literary tradition, a venture into strange new worlds of polyvalent, polyvocal form" (58). Maintaining that hypertext is an unbiased democratic medium, Jordan and Patten argue that it can provide the basis for a theoretical and methodological model of Print Culture. They believe that a hypertextual model avoids a "metanarrative of print history" (13), yet it is a comprehensive approach that allows for the "polyvocal" nature of the discipline without negating the multitude of "intangibles such as ideological and social formations" (12) that affect the "life history" of a print text.

However, Jordan and Patten romanticize the possibilities of hypertext without critically investigating what a hypertextual model would actually mean for Print Culture. For example, they argue that hypertext is non-hierarchical (11) and credit it with shifting agency to the spectator/reader. Still, hypertext is actually very hierarchical because a website only allows for a predetermined number of links or connections: "Although a measure of power is given to the reader, who may decide not to follow the link, most HTML writers 'encourage' readers to follow certain links rhetorically or by including image files which 'attract' readers" (Rak 161). For example, Jasper Fforde's index website, Fforde Grande Central (http://www.jasperfforde.com), acts as a clearing house for Fforde's various companion websites for his novels. He writes on the opening page that he "hope[s] this Fforde Grand Central page makes it easier to navigate your way around." He encourages readers to follow certain links and "[s]croll on down to see what nonsense I can direct you to." The reader can choose what links to click on and follow, but their agency is limited by what links the website allows and Fforde's written directions to follow certain links before going to others. Hypertext is a language, or discourse, that is written and shaped by a person or persons, and therefore it is not that different in this regard from a printed text.[10]

While the idea of a decentred model of book history that includes all the mediating factors that influence the movement or development of texts is a laudable goal, I believe Jordan and Patten's hypertextual model is problematic. They recognize that Darnton's communications circuit is too linear and inflexible, focusing on the book to the exclusion of other print matter. However, their proposed hypertextual model does not improve upon the communications circuit. Hypertext is neither nonhierarchical nor anymore democratic than print. Yet Jordan and Patten's initial belief is correct that "[w]hat will be needed in the future is not more of the linear paradigms of production that commence with the writer's idea and proceed straightforwardly through composition to publication and reception" (11). Inclusive and mobile conceptions of Print Culture are a necessary step in the further development of the field. Moreover, Jordan and Patten's call for a decentred, interactive, and interdependent model of Print Culture supports the demands of Robert Ross, Michael Winship, and others that the field must look beyond national boundaries. For example, existing methodologies cannot sustain the study of books and people who circulate internationally, as this subject defies linearity. The communications circuit fractures when faced with both the historical international movement of people and books and the modern global trade in print texts and media. Specifically, new theoretical and methodological models are needed that reflect the decentred networks of production, distribution, and consumption of the international book trade.

Bourdieu's Field of Literary Production

In *The Field of Cultural Production*, Pierre Bourdieu offers Print Culture a methodology that encapsulates the integrated network of circuits in which writers, publishers, printers, distributors, reviewers, and readers collaborate within a literary field of production.[11] In contrast to Robert Darnton who conceives of one circuit containing a book's life history, Bourdieu suggests that books are produced and consumed within an interlaced network of circuits within a larger cultural field where "[t]he literary field is itself defined by its position in the hierarchy of the arts, which varies from one period and one country to another" (47). Moreover, Bourdieu considers all the different agents within the field as cultural intermediaries, each influencing the text as well as the field with its actions. Furthermore, the cultural field of production has its own rules and laws governing interactions between agents, yet external pressures also indirectly affect both the agents and the field. By utilizing Bourdieu's theoretical model in my study of the international book trade, I am able to produce a contextualized study that does not proscribe the direction or level of interaction between participants in the trade; as well, it examines how certain social, economic, political, and technological developments influenced the book trade.

Bourdieu contends that any social formation is structured by way of a hierarchically organized series of fields, each defined as a structured space with its own laws. The field

> is an independent social universe with its own laws of functioning, its specific relations of force, its dominants and its dominated, and so forth ... literary works are produced in a particular social universe endowed with particular institutions and obeying specific laws ... [with] entirely specific struggles, notably concerning the question of knowing who is part of the universe, who is a real writer and who is not. (163-64)

The term field is used to identify areas of struggle and contestation (Harker et al. 9). For example, the field of cultural production is a dominated area within a larger field of power, and it is internally structured by an opposition between two secondary fields: the field of restricted production and the field of large-scale production (Bourdieu 53). The secondary field of restricted production is based on symbolic capital and subject to only internal demands. In contrast to the secondary field of restricted production, the field of large-scale production involves mass culture and is sustained by a large and complex cultural industry that "principally obeys the imperatives of competition for conquest of the market" (125). Furthermore, the entire cultural field is structured by the distribution of available positions and by the agents occupying them. Agents compete for control of the interests or resources of the field and constantly try to improve their standing within the field. Any change in an agent's position then affects the field's structure. Whereas Darnton maps the "life cycle" of a book within a single communications circuit that prescribes the movement of the book between a restricted number of agents, Bourdieu proposes a sophisticated network of circuits within the literary field of production that better captures the instability of a book's production, distribution, and reception. According to Bourdieu, the academic's task is to describe the ever-changing and unstable state of the field, delimiting the territory held by competing agents (42-43).

Bourdieu outlines a rigorous methodology that offers a complex but practicable approach to studying culture and that avoids the determinist problems of many traditional social science methodologies.[12] In particular, Bourdieu's methodology challenges some of the linear underlying assumptions of book history and offers a productive methodology for the study of economic change and globalization that accounts for the interconnections between culture and economics (McDonald 18; Benton 285).[13] Lauren Benton maintains that "[p]articularly important to the problems of global theory is the work of Bourdieu, who argues that culture is not synonymous with rules (or structures) but emerges in the practice of interpreting rules and moving through them" (284). Bourdieu offers a model for "reimagining global structure by bringing into the light institutions that are constructed out of practice and do not exist at, or even merely bridge, separate 'levels,' but themselves constitute elements of global structure" (285). In other words, Benton applies Bourdieu's methodology to the emergence and development of globalization, arguing that it cannot be separated into cultural and economic strands because the strands are interconnected and rooted in practice. She repeatedly returns to Bourdieu's assertion that at "the core of the economy is ... culture" (cited in Harker et al. 7), and she contends that economists need to relinquish "master narratives" that set culture apart from economics (288). She demands the "identifying [of] key relationships that link cultural and local practice, and structural and economic forms, ... [and] understanding these aspects of social experience as congruent" (289). Consequently, Bourdieu's framework is a template upon which global histories can be mapped without losing the interconnecting nature of the different fields. Moreover, Benton's argument for a future examination of globalization as the product of practices of fluid social networks and relationships resonates beyond the boundaries of economic history and is relevant for any history with an international or global scope, such as a history of the international book trade.

Through the analysis of a specific historical moment, 1870 to 1895, a specific field within that moment, the international trade in English-language books, and the specific social, economic, political, and technological influences on that particular field, a contextualized history of the late nineteenth-century book trade emerges. Moreover, instead of conceiving of globalization as a single story of progress, Bourdieu's methodology is a flexible template that allows for variations between studies and does not presume that the studies will chart a unified history. In other words, the development and potential comparison of a multiplicity of histories both permits local/global variations and avoids constructing globalization in simple evolutionary terms. Bourdieu's framework allows for the eventual production of a diachronic view of a complex process. However, Bourdieu's field of literary production cannot be directly applied to the analysis of the late nineteenth-century international book trade. While he advocates a minute study of a particular place, or cultural practices, and a particular period, an examination of the international book trade, or the field of international literary production and distribution, necessitates the consideration of a larger geographical expanse and an extended time frame.[14]

A study of the late nineteenth-century international book trade examines the production and distribution of books across a broad geographical field as books and agents circulated in an international space. For example, by the 1880s, the British publishing firm Macmillan had offices in London and New York and agents throughout Canada and the United States. In his letters to the London office, George E. Brett, Macmillan's New York manager, wrote about the firm's growing network of agents and their work developing new markets for Macmillan publications. In April 1885, Brett encouraged his employers to consider expanding into the Australasian market, suggesting his son, who was making buying trips throughout the United States on behalf of Macmillan, could travel to the Australasian colonies after a visit to San Francisco booksellers: "there is quite a little boom in England in regard to Australian business—will you let me remind you that Australia is not a great distance from San Francisco" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 12, p 146). In a letter dated 22 June 1886, Brett's son further suggested that any trip to Australia should include a visit to Japan, a developing market for English-language books (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, pp 48-49). Consequently, Macmillan's business was not geographically confined to one country or region: the firm's book trade spanned the globe and grew constantly during the period between 1870 and 1895. Moreover, any study examining the growth of the international book trade cannot confine itself to one genre of book. Macmillan sold internationally both fiction and non-fiction, especially school texts (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 204-06); similarly, George Robertson bought an assortment of fiction and non-fiction from American and British firms for resale in the Australasian colonies and exported Australian books for sale in Britain (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, pp 40, 96). Thus, the word *literary* in the field of international literary production and distribution must be redefined in the broadest possible terms as the international book trade included the trade of different genres and types of texts.

Bourdieu favours a detailed examination of particular practices in the field, arguing that simply quantifying the practices through statistics, while providing responses that seem to illustrate culture, actually neglects the complexity of the cultural process.[15] However, he argues that it is not enough to identify the agents and their particular, and potentially conflicting, interests that are specific to that field, as the literary field is embedded in—and indirectly affected by—changing social, economic, political, and technological conditions (McDonald 10). He contends that "[e]conomic and social changes affect the literary field indirectly" (Bourdieu 54). The field of international literary production and distribution is a social universe with its own laws of functioning, and external factors only influence the field through their effects on the field as a whole (54-55). In order to encapsulate the late nineteenth-century field of international literary production and distribution, one needs to consider not only the fact that this field spans a vast geographical area, which includes many different publishing firms from different countries, but also the fact that a plethora of social, economic, political, and technological developments indirectly influenced the field.

Also, representing the expansion of this international trade in English-language books requires that one analyze the practices of the book trade within an extended time frame. The twenty-five years that I examine do not represent an uninterrupted period of growth within the international book trade; instead, the period 1870 to 1895 represents recurrent episodes of both expansion and contraction of international trade. Furthermore, all of the firms that I am writing about approached the international expansion of their businesses in different ways and at different times within the twenty-five-year period. Consequently, the adequate representation of the field of international literary production and distribution requires an examination of a number of different firms and their business dealings, which span a large geographical area within the twenty-five-year period. The international book trade involves agents ranging from publishers, authors, wholesalers, printers, booksellers, and others directly and indirectly involved with the book trade. Therefore, any study of the international book trade must represent the complex network of circuits in which agents collaborate, negotiate, and compete.

Another change necessitated by the study of the international book trade regards what is the primary conflict within the field. Bourdieu describes the literary field as structured around two fundamental oppositions: the conflict between agents within the secondary field of restricted production regarding symbolic and cultural status and power, and the conflict between agents in the secondary field of large-scale production over economic capital (53). In contrast to Bourdieu's field of literary production, the field of international literary production and distribution revolves around a primary conflict regarding large-scale production and the varying capitalization or economic advantage of different agents' positions within the trade: "The field of large-scale production, whose submission to external demand is characterized by the subordinate position of cultural producers in relation to the controllers of production and diffusion of media, principally obeys the imperatives of competition for conquest of the market" (125). The field is for agents "*a space of possibles*, which is defined in the relationship between the structure of average chances of access to the different positions" (64).[16] In other words, Bourdieu argues that within the field of large-scale production, agents compete for advantage and control of the market, and those agents, who are richest in any form of capital, are typically the first to capitalize and move into new positions within the field. As well, new agents often seek to achieve a dominant position upon entering the field because of what Bourdieu describes as "a faulty sense of investment, linked to social distance or geographical distance" (68-69).

In terms of the international field, an established British firm—like Macmillan—was most able to capitalize on new emerging markets. At the same time, an upstart colonial firm, like Robertson, took a financial risk and opened a London branch in order to streamline the purchase and transportation of books from the then centre of the publishing trade, London, to the emerging market of the Australasian colonies. Edward Petherick attempted both to solidify Robertson's dominant position within the Australasian market between 1870 and 1887 and to improve the Colonial Book Agency's footing within the international market between

1887 and 1895.[17] Consequently, Macmillan would occupy a different position and have different goals from Robertson or The Colonial Book Agency, as well as be in conflict with the colonial firms over market share. Moreover, it is important to note that there are other oppositions within the field that mirror the conflicts within Bourdieu's secondary field of restricted production. Conflicts like what constitutes or defines colonial literature or what constitutes Australian literature also arise with the field of international literary production and distribution.[18] Utilizing Bourdieu's framework allows for the consideration of how the different economic, political, and social changes, as well as changes in technology and communication, indirectly influenced the international book trade and the new conflicts that erupted because of these changes.

While Bourdieu offers a more contextualized framework within which to study the "life cycle" of a book, or specifically the history of the nineteenth-century international book trade, his concept of the field of literary production is not without problems. His model is based on the assumption that the relationships between the cultural intermediaries in the field are "oppositions between the antagonistic positions (dominant/dominated, consecrated/novice, old/young, etc)" (56). However, while Bourdieu theorizes that established or dominant agents would be in an ideal position to capitalize on new opportunities in the field, agents did not conform to his antagonistic model in the international field of literary production and distribution.[19] Rather, British publishers resisted entering the colonial marketplace until their colonial counterparts had not only established international production and distribution channels but also demonstrated the economic viability and possibility of the international book trade. Edward Petherick and George E. Brett both initially struggled in their letters to British publishers to convince them of the necessity of the firms to further expand beyond existing markets (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 41, Vol. 85, p 61; *Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 12, p 146 and Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 11). Moreover, Bourdieu's framework needs to be adapted to a model that is not hierarchical, since the different actors in the field of international literary production and distribution do not necessarily interact in terms of just the dominated and dominant—there is a more complex interaction going on in regards to the agents negotiating, collaborating, and competing with each other. For example, Petherick did not consider Robertson as a *mere* colonial firm but as a pioneering publishing, bookselling, and wholesale business whose success caused jealousy among British firms:

> But there are jealousies here and there—and I suppose success must always suffer from jealousy, envy and enmity—especially from those who had apparently a good start when the race began. It is strange—there are large firms [British publishers] here who receive [a lot of money from Robertson] … who yet are not only dissatisfied but dislike [George Robertson]" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 215).

Yet, other British firms, like Richard Bentley and Son, seemed to regard Robertson and Petherick as important middlemen in the newly emerging trade, who were potential business partners.[20]

Capturing the expansive dynamics of the international book trade requires, I believe, a modification of Bourdieu's methodology in terms of a more fluid concept of circulation, both in terms of the interaction between agents and the movement of both people and texts within the international field. Foucault argues that "[t]he frontiers of a book are never clear-cut: beyond the title, the first lines, and the last full stop, beyond its internal configuration and its autonomous form, it is caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences: it is a node within a network" (23). Similarly, Edward Petherick, George Robertson, and George E. Brett are nodes within the network of a developing international book trade at the end of the nineteenth century: each man forms part of a larger network of business deals, transactions, agreements, and relationships that then impact other aspects of this trade. Agents within the international book trade are caught up within multiple networks, where they are but nodes within networks of other agents, books, texts, conflicts, and agendas.

Rhizome

While Bourdieu offers a contextualized framework for the study of the international book trade, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari provide, in *A Thousand Plateaus*, a vocabulary for clarifying the power dynamics of the trade and for proposing a theory of circulating commodities that complements the unpredictable flow of books and people on the international stage. First of all, Deleuze and Guattari theorize capitalist relations that challenge hierarchical or binary power dynamics. They envision a positive image of capitalism's repetitive and constant urges to produce and consume because we are all agents or assemblages that continually connect and reconnect in processes of production and consumption (4). An agent is a "a node within a network," connecting with or referencing other nodes. However, while Foucault argues that a book is a node "caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences," Deleuze and Guattari, expanding the definitions of both a node and a network, believe humans, cars, computers, lamps, books, and any object or subject of production and consumption is a possible agent. An agent "is a little machine" of production and consumption in that it generates networks and participates in other networks at the same time. For example, a human is an assemblage of experiences, education, genetics, and a host of other factors, as well as a node within social, familial, and other networks. A book is also an assemblage of drafts, editions, and ideas, and it reflects the varying influences of different individuals involved in the publication, distribution, or reception of the book. Deleuze and Guattari ask "what is the relation (also measurable) of this literary machine [book] to a war machine, love machine, revolutionary machine, etc .... The only [other] question is which other machine the literary machine can be plugged into, must be plugged into in order to work" (4). By classifying both a book and a person as an agent or assemblage, they argue that both, as productive and consumptive machines, derive meaning and value in relation to what networks either agent belongs to, what connections it makes to other agents, and what functions it performs within networks. They contend "[w]e will ask what it functions with, in connection with what other things it does or does not transmit intensities, in which other multiplicities its own are inserted and metamorphosed" (4). An agent, such as "a book[,] has only itself, in connection with other assemblages" (4), and organizing structures or institutions, such as government or school. These structuring apparatus bind agents, but because agents are beset by productive desire, they also constantly produce and consume in a rhizomic manner that, to a certain degree, negates the power of these organizing structures. Deleuze and Guattari define desire "as a process of production without reference to any exterior agency, whether it be a lack that hollows it out or a pleasure that fills it" (154). Agents are "compositions of desire" (399): desire stimulates the continual production of networks and circuits, and it cannot be controlled or completely bound by organizing structures. Deleuze and Guattari view desire as a *desiring machine* or node within rhizomic networks that cannot only interrupt networks, as a desire is achieved, but that can also fuel the growth of the rhizome as new desires are generated.

A rhizome, like potato, iris, or mint, is an underground, horizontal network of roots and shoots that forms roots at the nodes in the root system to produce new plants. For example, an iris can be divided and the sections of the rhizome removed from the original iris clump and replanted. Deleuze and Guattari employ a rhizomic model to explain capitalist relations, describing a rhizome as "an [organic] acentred, nonhierarchical, nonsignifying system" (21), where "the fabric of the rhizome is the conjunction, 'and … and … and …'" (25). They define a rhizome as a map or tracing that ceaselessly establishes connections: a rhizome is then a multiplicity of connections and interfaces between agents and structuring organizations (7). They contrast the idea of the rhizome with an arboric model that fixes an order or hierarchy. They believe an arboric model is not representative of nature: "Nature doesn't work that way … [it is] a more multiple, lateral, and circular system of ramification" (5). In contrast to an arboric model, the rhizome better maps the diversity and unpredictability of nature. Deleuze and Guattari argue that a rhizome represents four principles: connection, heterogeneity, multiplicity, and rupture. They contend that "any point of a rhizome can be connected to anything other.... [The rhizome] is very different from the tree or root, which plots a point, fixes an order" (7). Therefore, the rhizome is not a single network but a multiplicity of networks: "There are no points or positions in a rhizome, such as those found in a structure, tree or root" (8). Deleuze and Guattari explain that the division of subject and object and other dichotomies do not exist within a rhizomic structure: what exists are lines of multiplicities and assemblages. Moreover, a rhizomic network has "a principle of asignifying rupture" (9). The network does not follow a predetermined path: it eschews hierarchy. As it expands or changes, the rhizome, because it can both break and also start up again, creates new networks or reestablishes old ones. The rhizome is then like a tuber that horizontally spreads out, and as it does it ramifies and diversifies in often unpredictable and uncontrollable ways. Adapting Deleuze and Guattari's rhizome to Bourdieu's field of cultural production allows for a tracing of the networking and connections that develop within the field between different agents and other assemblages, such as books, which are not catagorizable in simple hierarchical language.

Deleuze and Guattari advance a way of conceptualizing the nonlinear flow of circulating commodities and bodies that made up the international book trade. A closed model, or circuit, like Robert Darnton's, does not encapsulate the unpredictability of the circulation and dissemination of books on an international scale. Thinking of the circulation of books in terms of a rhizome allows the archival material to spread out in a manner that is not proscribed by a synthetic or linear communications circuit. For example, whereas Darnton envisions the author within the communications circuit only dealing directly with the publisher, Edward Petherick's business letters reveal that authors, such as May Laffan Hartley, directly contacted Petherick in order to make wholesale distribution arrangements for the sale of their books in the colonies (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 47). Moreover, the communications circuit fails to encompass the scope of relations and business transactions between different publishers that influenced how books were published and that formed the cornerstone of an emerging international book trade. For instance, Petherick related in a letter to his father, dated 10 May 1877, the importance of his upcoming visit to American and Canadian publishers:

> If we didn't get the American books direct, we should have to purchase them in London at 20% advance in cost price and then we couldn't compete with others—besides which we shall have to secure representation of American publishers who are now looking sharply toward Australia and sending supplies direct to Australian ports. (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 320)

Petherick's trip in the spring of 1878 to the United States and Canada in order to develop and cement new trading partnerships between George Robertson and North American firms was not an anomalous occurrence. Publishers, wholesalers, and others involved in the book trade were aware of the increasingly international scope of the book business and the need in the late nineteenth century for companies—if they wished to prosper and survive—to look beyond traditional local or regional trade alliances, routes, and markets. Darnton's linear communications circuit is too insular and limited to represent this emerging field of international literary production and distribution at the end of the nineteenth century. In contrast to the communications circuit, the rhizome is a flexible and nonlinear model that better represents the circulation of books and people within a field of international literary production and distribution. Adapting Deleuze and Guattari's rhizome to Bourdieu's concept of the field of cultural production allows for the greater interplay in the field between a multiplicity of agents who jockey for varying positions, as opposed to the binary dominant and dominated positions of Bourdieu's original model.

Deleuze and Guattari argue that agents, by repeatedly engaging each other—and in doing so influencing one another—spawn further interactions with each new interface leading to the potential multiplying, rupturing, or newly establishing of rhizomes (9). For example, they argue that books deterritorialize the world and the world reterritorializes books as they move through networks: "from sign to sign, a movement from one territory to another, a circulation assuring a certain speed of deterritorialization" (126). Deterritorialization and reterritorialization refer to the use of an idea, part, or image of an agent, such as a book, by another agent. In other words, as an agent such as a book circulates internationally, it develops new readings and new audiences, or it influences other writers and publishers.

The rhizome is a growth of infinite actions and reactions, where agents may borrow or use a "part" of another agent in a way potentially unknown to the original agent. Deleuze and Guattari describe cultural, social, and economic cross fertilization on a global scale. For example, George Bentley, at Petherick's urging, edited in 1887-88 a series of books, which Richard Bentley and Son had previously published. The books were either by Australians or about Australia, and Bentley presented them to the Australian public as "new" Australian editions, where "the vernacular and idiom are Australian" (British Library Add. 59629, p 40). Bentley produced an

Australian literature series, the first such "national" collection, which defined Australian literature in terms of the books' subject matter and writing. He did not let the fact that a number of the books were not written by Australians stop him from claiming their Australian qualities. The "Australian Library" included British author Caroline Leakey's *The Broad Arrow*, which was edited for the series with an Australian readership in mind. The new edition of the novel emphasized the romantic elements in the book and deemphasized a polemic against the convict system and colonial life. Consequently, the novel, first published by Richard Bentley and Son in 1859 as "an 847-page moral tract" for a British public (Rutherford 248), became in 1888 a tragic "national" romance for Australian readers.[21] Thus, a novel, like *The Broad Arrow*, might be picked up and reterritorialized by each community with which it comes into contact, taking on new meanings with each community (126). The concepts of deterritorializing and reterritorializing are then useful signifiers to describe the multi-directional interconnections and cultural, social, and economic cross fertilizations that occur in the international field of literary production and distribution.

Conclusion

A rhizomic field of literary production and distribution offers a theoretical framework that answers Jordan and Patten's desire for "conceptions of the activity of producing and consuming texts that decentre the principal elements and make them interactive and interdependent" (11). Neither Jordan and Patten's model nor the more traditional communications circuit can fully account for the development of the international book trade in the late nineteenth century. For example, when Australian bookseller and wholesaler George Robertson established a branch office in London in the late 1850s, he could not have foreseen the effect that his office, and others like it, would have on the trade. While books had been sold across borders before the mid nineteenth century, the establishment of colonial branch offices facilitated the trade in English-language books beyond traditional markets. Colonial agents, such as Edward Petherick, made connections not just with other publishers and booksellers but also with authors, papermakers, shipping agents, and others. In doing so, agents were able to capitalize on buying colonial rights directly from authors or buying excess print runs of books that they shipped as unbound sheets to avoid certain taxes and duties. Traditional Print Culture methodologies cannot easily represent this movement of books and people on the international stage as existing methodologies, more often than not, are based on national book trades. However, a rhizomic field of literary production and distribution can illustrate the complex web of interactions between agents in the late nineteenth-century international book trade.

Moreover, a rhizomic framework better encapsulates the external influences on the emerging international trade. Robertson and Petherick believed, as did others, that technology would improve the business of books; Robertson extensively used the transpacific cable, after it was laid in 1872, to wire Petherick about book orders and shipments (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, pp 119, 139, 206). Also, the development of satellite offices allowed colonial booksellers and wholesalers to better control the transportation of books, periodicals, and stationery from Europe to the colonies (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 189). However, the establishment of new, regular, and profitable trade routes and markets caught the attention of the established publishing firms, like Macmillan, who by the 1880s saw the potential of the new emerging colonial markets in Australasia and elsewhere. A rhizomic field of literary production allows one fully to capture the almost anarchic nature of the development of the international book trade in the late nineteenth century. A reworking of Bourdieu's field of cultural production in terms of Deleuze and Guattari's nonlinear rhizomic networks helps both explain the power dynamics and depict the movement of books and people within the late nineteenth-century international book trade.

Notes

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[1] David Finklestein and Alistair McCleery note that "Book history is no longer simply the province of bibliographers or literary critics," and that the field is developing into a "history of human communication" (3).

[2] Darnton's "What is Book History?", which outlines his communications circuit, is the first essay in *The Book History Reader*.

[3] At the SHARP annual conference in Lyon, 20-23 July 2004, Simon Eliot argued that future international studies of the book would only develop after the completion of various major national history-of-the-book projects.

[4] For example, popular author Jasper Fforde encourages his readers to visit his companion website (http://www.jasperfforde.com), join his fan forum, email him with questions or buy book-related merchandise.

[5] Allan Dooley argues that of particular importance to the portability of book moulds was the adoption of stereotyping because it allowed plaster (later paper) moulds to be made which could be easily shipped or stored for later use (56). Stereotyping eliminated the expense of resetting a text and issuing a new edition every time demand warranted it. The moulds could also be more easily fixed if mistakes were found. Many authors knew that mould could be changed and sent their printers, or publishers, lists of alterations to make each subsequent impression of an edition conform more exactly to the author's desires.

[6] In June 1879, Petherick purchased copies of the fourth edition of Hartley's *Flitters,*

Tatters, and Counsellor and other Sketches from her Dublin publisher Hodges, Foster, and Figgis (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 46).

[7] A common practice in the late nineteenth century was to use stereotype plates of books, previously published in Britain, to create inexpensive colonial imprints. For instance, British author Helen Reeves, in the 1880s, directly contacted George Robertson, in order to both promote the sale of her books in the colonies and offer Robertson the colonial rights to her latest publications (Petherick Collection MS 760, 2, 81-89).

[8] Adams and Barker seem to be influenced by the work of cultural theorist Stuart Hall who examines how mass-communications messages are produced and disseminated. Hall develops a four-stage theory of communication which bears some resemblance to Adams and Barker's circuit in that both models suggest that at each stage there are further internal circuits and actors.

[9] In *American Literary Publishing in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (1995), Michael Winship also modifies Darnton's communications circuit. He sets up a model that both emphasizes activities, not the people who perform them, and stresses the business relationships over the life of a book as it passes from hand to hand. Winship's model accents the role of the publisher as *entrepreneur*, a role he argues that is of central importance in the study of the business and economic history of the American book trade.

[10] Julie Rak criticizes Moulthroup's simplistic and positivistic vision of hypertext (160). Rak argues that Moulthrop "overlook[s] the techne of hypertext itself—the creation of links, graphics and other marks in its grammar which shape the decisions readers make" (160). Yet the academic community generally accepts their positive reading of hypertext, ignoring or forgetting that "hypertext, like any other written language, has its orthodoxies, which determine what its writers can do and what its readers can experience."

[11] Darnton acknowledges that Bourdieu's work will help the book historian answer "[q]uestions about who reads what, in what conditions, at what time, and with what effect" ("What is the History of Books?" 22), but he does not suggest Bourdieu's usefulness for understanding other aspects of Print Culture.

[12] Finklestein and McCleery concede that "[w]hile past traditions in bibliographic and textual studies have sought to establish stable texts and precise textual intentions, the field of book history now operates within a context of unstable texts" (3). They argue that the field draws on "a combination of analytical tools and insights derived from various disciplines" and can no longer rely on a bibliographer's tools. Consequently, they include Bourdieu's "The Field of Cultural Production" in *The Book History Reader*.

[13] Lauren Benton argues that the traditional use of world-systems theory as an

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explanatory framework for understanding global economic change is problematic. She believes that world-systems theory must be abandoned in favour of an alternative approach that fully addresses its critiques by drawing on the cultural theory of Bourdieu.

[14] My study focuses on the production of books for the international book trade and the distribution, or circulation, of texts within an international expanse; thus, I use the term the field of international literary production and distribution rather than just the field of international literary production.

[15] Bourdieu does not discount or discard older historical methods, such as the use of statistics, in the study of culture and art; instead, he grounds statistical research within the study of practices. He argues that academics need to gather and study a multiplicity of practices, which cannot be easily separated or quantified, before constructing the field of production within which these practices operate. Statistics provide concrete numbers that often belie complex, possibly chaotic, practices that Bourdieu contends cannot be simply represented solely through the use of statistics.

[16] Emphasis in original.

[17] Please see Chapter Three for a history of Robertson's London agency and Chapter Five for a history of The Colonial Book Agency.

[18] For example, different publishing firms offered colonial series that purported to represent emerging national literatures, while other firms constructed series that emphasized the common British bonds of Empire (Johanson). Conflict arose over what the series and books actually represented. I discuss this issue briefly in Chapter Three.

[19] One of the first British publishers who did capitalize on the growing population of the British colonies was John Murray. In 1843, Murray published the Colonial and Home Library, which was the first library intended in large part for the colonies. However, his experiment failed, and no other British firm would directly enter the colonial market for another thirty years (Fraser).

[20] In Chapter Three I examine Richard Bentley and Son's partnership with Robertson, and in the chapter Five I detail the history of Petherick's Colonial Book Agency, which was financed by the leading British publishing houses.

[21] In Chapter Three I briefly discuss George Robertson's and Petherick's roles in the creation of Bentley's Australian Library.

Chapter Three—Edward Petherick's Correspondence

Edward Petherick's correspondence between 1870 and 1887 provides insight into both the development of the international book trade and the growing interest of publishers and authors in the emerging overseas markets for English-language books in the late nineteenth century. During his tenure as George Robertson's London distribution manager from 1870 to 1887, Petherick promoted Australasia as a viable and lucrative book market and expedited the exportation of English-language books from England, Europe, and North America to the Australasian colonies. However, Petherick is typically remembered in a national context as a bibliographer and as a collector of rare Australian texts and ephemera, who gave his collection to what would later become the National Library of Australia. While studies of Petherick invariably mention his career as Robertson's London manager, his influential role in the promotion of the wholesale expansion of an international trade in English-language books is overlooked.[1]

The Petherick Collection at the National Library of Australia contains more than five hundred letters and documents written by and to Petherick that afford a glimpse of a growing colonial book market and an emerging international book trade. For example, Petherick's letters to George Robertson and to his father about Robertson and the London office provide significant insight into how Robertson became, by the end of the 1870s, the dominant distributor, bookseller, and publisher in the Australasian colonies.[2] Moreover, Petherick's correspondence repeatedly highlights the importance of Robertson's London office to British publishers who sought to maximize their profits by increasing book sales in foreign markets.

Petherick's letters can also be found in the Longman, Macmillan, Richard Bentley and Son, George Allen, Grant Richards, and Swan Sonnenschein archives, and these letters further illustrate his central role in cementing new partnerships and trade routes to meet the growing demand for books in Australia and elsewhere. Additionally, his letters from Helen Reeves, Marie Francis Cusack, May Laffan Hartley, and Florence Marryat demonstrate the growing desire of British, Irish, colonial, and other authors to sell books internationally and Petherick's congenial willingness to help authors and others enter the market.

Petherick acted as the de facto manager of Robertson's London agency shortly after his arrival in the city in the summer of 1870, officially becoming manager in December 1871 (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, pp 96, 104). His letters from 1870 to 1887 document and attest to both his enthusiasm for the international book trade and his persuasive ability to convince British publishers, authors, and others to participate in the emerging international print economy. He also regularly exchanged letters with his father during this period, and these letters provide a candid and informative account of both his running of Robertson's London agency and the growing importance of both the firm and himself as central agents in the international book trade. Petherick's father died in 1877 and his letters to his family and business associates after this date are not as revealing as the letters to his father. In 1877, in one of his last letters to his father, Petherick wrote that whereas Robertson and he had once been almost alone in promoting and developing the British-Australasian book trade, other British, American, and colonial firms were rapidly entering the Australasian market and other overseas markets in English-language books (Petherick

Collection MS 760, Box 1, pp 320-21). Petherick's correspondence between 1870 and 1887, particularly his letters to his father between 1870 and 1877, illustrates his influential role in the development of both trade routes and social networks of publishers, authors, booksellers, and others interested in the international book trade.

In a letter to his father dated 13 June 1872, Petherick described the world in terms of a series of interconnected rooms in which one eventually meets everyone: "After all what is this world? Only a lot of ante-rooms in which we dodge about before entering the next. In that we can all meet, be it soon or late" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 120). Petherick's architectural metaphor envisions the world as a series of rooms connected in a rhizomic manner. Petherick, himself, is a node within a rhizomic network of relations or "ante-rooms" in which "we can all meet" or connect to other nodes or agents. His letters offer a starting point from which to examine the changing attitudes of book trade agents regarding the field of international literary relations at the end of the nineteenth century. Moreover, his correspondence attests to the fact that he personally knew many of the individuals and firms participating in the expanding international traffic of texts. Petherick fervently believed in the international book trade and, as he moved between "ante-rooms" during his career, he convinced a lot of other people that the international book trade was the future of the business.

Chapter three surveys Petherick's correspondence between 1870 and 1887, with an emphasis on letters written before 1878, as a physical tracing of the growth of rhizomic networks in the field of international literary production and distribution. First, I examine Petherick's correspondence and other related archival material that documents how developments in transportation, communication, and book production both facilitated and obstructed the expansion of the international trade in books. Secondly, I analyze Petherick's letters regarding the growing interest of British, European, and American publishers in the Australasian colonies and in other overseas markets for English-language books and texts. Also, I argue that Robertson and Petherick capitalized on the central location of the London agency and on the firm's existing Australasian distributing networks in order to position the company as an important middleman whom larger British publishers needed to work with to expedite the sale of their books in the colonies. Finally, Petherick's correspondence reveals that a number of popular colonial and British authors sought advice on the saleability of their books in either Australia or, for colonial writers, in England. Authors were increasingly concerned about the prospects of the international sale of their books, and Petherick's letters also indicate that a number of writers wanted his firm to publish their works specifically for the Australian market.

Changing Communication, Transportation, and Publishing Technologies

Upon arriving in London in August 1870 to take up a position in Robertson's office, Edward Petherick, in a letter to his younger siblings, described the distance between Australia and England as vast and daunting. Petherick wrote that the distance he travelled between Melbourne and London "does not seem very far on the globe … [yet] I have travelled 'a far way'" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 4). He included a sketch with his letter of the globe that illustrated the distance between himself and his family: the sketch is of the earth with two ships and two men, where one man and ship are "on opposite sides of the world" from the other man and ship.

A recurring theme in Petherick's letters to his father and business colleagues is the shrinking of distance between London and Melbourne through improvements in transportation, communication, and book and text production. Still, the initial innovation that allowed for Petherick to later capitalize on changing technology was the creation of Robertson's London branch.[3] In 1857, Robertson opened a London office, run by his brother William Robertson (Holroyd 19). The London office not only purchased books for the firm but also acted as a shipping agent for other British and European businesses that wanted to distribute their books and stationery in the Australasian market. In the 28 February 1862 issue of *The Bookseller*, George Robertson's London office is listed in a directory of shippers, "which ship Books and Stationery" to Australia (119). James Barnes notes that there were cyclical economic depressions throughout the nineteenth century, and British and American publishers often sought out new markets and relied on innovation to get themselves out of the slump (209, 214). Petherick in a number of letters to his father also referred to a continuing depression in book sales in Australia that plagued the market throughout the 1860s and 1870s; he argued that the firm weathered the downturn in the economy because of Robertson's foresight in establishing a London office.

With Petherick's arrival in London, the branch also quickly recovered from William Robertson's mismanagement, which had negatively affected the firm's business in the 1860s. Petherick's letters to his father from 1870 to 1871 repeatedly note that William Robertson's erratic book ordering and shipping had imperilled the

London office, if not the entire firm (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, pp 86, 90, 92). One of the advantages of having a London branch was there was no delay in the firm paying bills for books and texts. Financial transfers between countries and over long distances were difficult, if not impossible in the nineteenth century; London publishers who directly sold books to the colonies often had to wait prolonged periods of time before they received payment from their distant customers.[4] Robertson received favourable terms from London publishers because his local office could pay them without delay. However, William Robertson's excess stock purchases in 1870 left the London firm without the ability to pay all of its debts: "only financial accommodation from the bank enabled G.R. to send the necessary remittances to London" to avoid financial disaster (Cullen 99). William Robertson's financial negligence resulted in his brother promoting Petherick, who had previously worked in his Melbourne retail and wholesale business cataloguing and writing advertisements, and sending him to London to help William Robertson with book ordering and shipping (100).

Petherick repeatedly stated in his letters to his father that there was tension in the London office between himself and William Robertson, who saw Petherick as an interloper (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 77). He wrote that "Mr. W^{m} is not [in] the best of tempers—he is irritable and complaining … ready to blame others for everything—and he seems pleased sometimes to find out the errors & faults of others" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Vol. 1, p 72). William Robertson complained to his brother about Petherick on a number of occasions, but George Robertson proclaimed that business was improving since Petherick had joined the London office

(Petherick Collection MS 760, Vol. 1, p 102). Furthermore, in a letter dated 16 June 1871 to his father, Petherick quoted George Robertson that "'[b]usiness [in Australia] continues in a very depressed state but I am happy to be able to report that in the finance department we already feel [since Petherick's arrival] the advantage of having a buyer in London'" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 87).

Petherick's letters indicate that shortly after his arrival in London in 1870, George Robertson had him act as manager because of problems with William Robertson's running of the office (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 67). However, John Holroyd argues that Petherick did not replace William Robertson as London manager until 1873 (37). Still, in a letter to his father dated 8 September 1871, Petherick mentioned that "W.R. has declined the new conditions offered him (Joint Manager) and was going to leave [the branch]" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 96). Moreover, in a letter from November of that year Petherick wrote his father to report that George Robertson had ordered him to take over the firm at the end of December 1871 (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 104). Consequently, Petherick acted as the de facto manager shortly after his arrival in London in the summer of 1870, and he officially became manager in December 1871 after "a scarcely civil" William Robertson left the agency (Cullen 115).

Frequently in his letters to his father, Petherick acknowledged both Robertson's prescience in establishing an office in Britain and the importance of the firm being at the centre of the book trade: on 10 June 1874, he wrote to his father that he was "satisfied to be in the [London] vortex" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 213).[5] Within four years of arriving in London, Petherick had reorganized the branch "to maximize speed in handling and despatching different types of stock," and the firm had moved to larger premises (Cullen 120). Robertson wrote to Petherick that he did not fancy any "more bother with "Home Managers" and wanted him to consider his "occupation permanent" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 120). Robertson also warned him that he would close the London branch "if any other person is supported and assisted by the British publishers to rival" the firm. In 1874, William Robertson, who had since leaving his brother's employment set up a book distribution business in Melbourne, wrote two circulars implying that he had been "harshly dealt with" by George Robertson and Petherick and "that the advantages the trade had received from G.R. were 'assumed' advantages" (Cullen 129). William Robertson attacked his brother's retail and distribution business and insinuated that his Melbourne-based business could distribute British publishers' books in the Australasian colonies better than Robertson. In June 1874, Petherick wrote to his father about the circulars critiquing the firm: "I haven't had patience to read it carefully—half truths of that sort are worse than lies. And yet G.R. is to suffer all this … from a serpent a snake he kept from starving—who had failed twice and then nearly ruined this business" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 214). In a letter published in the 2 June 1874 issue of *The Bookseller*, Petherick defended the firm and stated that "Mr. Robertson saw his opportunity, and while other booksellers seemingly looked after themselves, he began to import for them all" (466). He wrote to his father that he did not want Robertson to feel threatened by William Robertson's scurrilous attacks and close a business that had in the past year "opened up accounts with Paris Publishers. And … opened up still larger and important accounts in New York, Boston, Philadelphia" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 214).

In the letter published in *The Bookseller*, Petherick boasted about both the scale and scope of Robertson's enterprise, and he characterized "the sphere of operations" as massive: "four or five travellers not only called daily upon booksellers in Melbourne and Sydney … but also periodically visited booksellers throughout the other Colonies, including Tasmania & New Zealand" (465). However, he also suggested that

> It must be remembered that the population of the whole of the Australian Colonies, including New Zealand, is only a little over two million, scattered over an extent greater than that of Europe; the principal towns and cities being quite as wide apart as the European capitals. Thus glancing at a map, if we suppose London to represent Melbourne, then Sydney and Brisbane would be at the respective distances of Copenhagen and Stockholm; Adelaide would be situate near Cork and the Lakes of Killarney; Launceston and Hobart Town in the relative positions of Paris and Marseilles; Auckland 400 miles S.E. of St. Petersburg, near Moscow; Wellington in the Crimea, and Invercargill (the southern most town of New Zealand) at Constantinople. The Fiji Islands … would lie beyond Spitzbergen; while Perth, the capital of Western Australia, if dropped into its position on the other side of the Atlantic, would stand upon the banks of Newfoundland.

Petherick described in the letter a southern microcosm of the larger, developing international trade in books, with similar problems concerning transportation, communication, and publication. However, he also acknowledged in the letter that while "[t]raveling and intercommunication with each Colony, necessarily by water, is, notwithstanding distances, frequent, but very costly" (465), advances in transportation, communication, and publishing were allowing the firm to overcome the distance between the colonies, and between Australia and Europe (466).

Advances in transportation enabled Robertson's firm to secure regular and more frequent shipments of books to the Australasian colonies. In an unpublished memoir, Petherick wrote "[w]hen I came here nearly all goods were shipped to Australia in sailing vessels: we had the opportunity of shipping about once in three months by direct auxiliary steamer, and once a month limited supplies in small packages could be sent by the Overland Mail" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 58).[6] Throughout his letters to his father and family, Petherick repeatedly wrote about how he was constantly trying new routes and ships in order to get parcels and letters home faster. For instance, in a letter dated 18 November 1870, Petherick told his father that he was sending this letter by the Queen of the Thames—a new steamer that promised to reach "Melbourne in 45 days from Plymouth," whereas the fastest time previously had been 60 days (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 61). In March 1871, Petherick cited another extract from a letter by George Robertson, in which Robertson congratulated him on arranging timely deliveries: "'I am more than pleased about your Trade List … It was well thought of & well done' (then G. R. strikes out the short 'and' between 'of' & 'well' and adds) 'and well come' (I never knew him to play upon words before) 'as you will understand when I tell you on the same Monday (16th Jan) there arrived the "Avremore" & "Norfolk" and on Saturday (14th) the "Kirkham." I shall always be glad if you can manage this in the case of steamers'" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 79).[7] In 1873, Petherick again tried to improve on the transportation of books and stationery between England and Australia by sending mail by way of the different routes, Plymouth, Southampton, and Brindisi, to see which was the quickest and most reliable route. Plymouth and

Southampton ships sailed by way of Africa and typically took the slower routes, with differences only in the type of ships used: sailing, steam, or auxiliary steam ships.[8] The third route saw packages sent by train to Brindisi and then shipped via the Suez Canal, which opened in 1869, to Singapore and then Queensland where the mail would be couriered by train to Melbourne. Petherick repeatedly wrote to his father about testing "the speed of the various routes now opening between Europe and the Australian Colonies" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 189). In a letter written between 24 and 27 January 1871, he told his father that "[y]our letter of the 5th Dec. came via Brindisi—yesterday 23rd. I am glad you sent via Brindisi—It is always desirable for me to have something by that, or whichever is the quickest, route" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 68).[9] In the mid nineteenth century, the average length of time it took mail to reach Australia from England was ten to twelve weeks; however, by the 1870s, steamers had cut the time in half (Lee). In the 1890s the voyage via the Brindisi route was taking about a month, and English mail delivery to the Australasian colonies had improved from monthly to weekly service. Petherick was constantly experimenting with the different routes and ships and was not satisfied with the status quo: in a fragment of a letter to Robertson written in the 1870s, he stated that "my candid opinion is that the arrangements for the ordering, receiving and dispatch of goods, at present, are very imperfect" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 66).[10] He continued to experiment with different distribution routes during his tenure as Robertson's London manager, writing in 1876 about sending and receiving mail by way of the new San Francisco route (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 293, 320-21).

While advances in ship design and new shipping routes allowed Petherick to send "[b]y every monthly mail the newest and freshest issues from the leading publishing houses in London and Paris, and sometimes even, copies in advance of the home publication," the distribution of books and stationery was not without its problems (Petherick, "The Book-Trade in Melbourne" 4). He had to spend a great deal of time studying the shipping reports and experimenting with different routes and ships. Moreover, ships sometimes would be delayed or lost, and he would have to deal not only with the Melbourne office but also anxious authors wanting news of their books. For example, on 27 January 1876, George Manville Fenn, a prolific writer of adventure tales and serialized novels, wrote to Petherick about his regular monthly shipment to Melbourne of a serialized work and agreed with Petherick that the latest issue must "have been delayed en route" or lost (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, pp 17-18). In another instance, Petherick told his father about "the loss of the Rangoon [and] [i]t is possible that the mail may be recovered" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 102). However, he lamented that the firm's cargo of books and stationery bound for Melbourne was probably lost: "The loss may be about £250 to £300 for us besides the inconvenience." Furthermore, shipments often had to be sent before books had been reviewed, and Petherick did not always judge correctly which books would be bestsellers:

> When the book arrives, it may be with a host of others more or less saleable; it may or may not be noticed (probably not) in the local press; may not have been noticed in The London literary organs, may have been praised highly or judged otherwise—because you order and ship generally before the reviews of a new book appears [sic]: a review of a book may not appear for several months—and then all the world asks for it." (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 166)

Consequently, books would be shipped in quantities that upon arrival would either not sell or would sell out. The sale of the books he bought and shipped to Australia was then influenced by the "many things operating for months after the books are in the Market either to retard or help" sales (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 86). Finally in his letter in *The Bookseller*, Petherick reminded readers of the costs of importing books: "Publishers are aware that we have to pack all books in zinc-lined cases, to pay freight, insurance, dock charges, cartage, commission agents, and other expenses incidental to shipping" (465). Geoffrey Blainey argues that the quickest route between England and Australia, via the Suez Canal, was only used for the most valuable of cargoes, such as gold from the Australian gold fields, because the canal fees were too high for regular shipping traffic (218). However, Petherick's letters strongly imply that books were considered a precious and time-sensitive cargo and that the firm did use the Suez Canal route for both mail and larger shipments. While the costs associated with transportation were high, Petherick also noted in the letter in *The Bookseller* that "[i]t will, however, surprise many when I mention that, after paying these charges and expenses, Mr. Robertson supplies nearly all the books he imports to the Trade with sufficient allowances to enable them to retail at the *English published prices*" (465).[11] Regardless of the frustration caused by shipping cargo over vast distances, Petherick reminded the readers that not only was Robertson making a "handsome profit" but also he could afford to sell the British books in the colonies at British prices.

Advances in nineteenth-century communication technology, such as the overseas telegraph lines, allowed Petherick to stay in regular contact with Robertson. On 16 May 1872, he wrote of receiving the first telegram from Robertson regarding his imminent arrival in London (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 119). Petherick was shocked that the eight-word cable cost five pounds, but added that Robertson was a proponent of the cable, having exchanged regular cables with Petherick since the completed cable between England and Australia started transmitting messages earlier in 1872. Wallace Kirsop recognizes Robertson's "enterprising spirit" in capitalizing on new technologies such as the telegraph (*Books* 12-13). However, Blainey argues that the telegraph was far too expensive to be used on a regular basis until the 1890s: "At first the cost of sending a message by telegraph from Australia to England was so dear that only about fifteen short messages were sent each way daily. A message of 20 words cost £10—equal to five weeks' wages for a working man" (223).[12] Regardless of cost, Robertson and Petherick were early advocates of the telegraph, and my research indicates that the firm regularly used the telegraph to send book orders and communiqués between the offices in London and Melbourne, as well as between London and Robertson's other Australian branches. In the 1874 letter in *The Bookseller*, Petherick added

> G. R. now makes use of the telegraph and orders larger supplies by cable, irrespective of cost. Two days ago I received a cable order for several books, not withstanding that other supplies had been recently shipped. The cost of the message would be about £20, and although the value of the whole order is under £500, the additional expense incurred will not be a reason for G. R. asking a high price than if they had been ordered in the usual way. (466)

Moreover, in a letter dated 17 July 1880, Petherick mentioned to London publisher Richard Bentley that "should the supply of an English work be small or insufficient … [with post and] shipping we cannot get out new supplies under five months by steamer. Using the Cable we now manage to get books occasionally in six or seven weeks" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU 49).[13]

In September 1873, over a year after he first mentioned the firm's use of the telegraph, Petherick wrote to his father that he regularly sent cables "in cipher" to protect the firm's orders and plans from prying eyes (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 172). In a letter dated 16 April 1874, he asked his father to destroy any letters he had sent to the family that described the telegram cipher because "it is so valuable to us" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 206). Petherick and Robertson were regularly exchanging telegrams in cipher regardless of the prohibitive cost.[14] Communicating over large distances became less of an issue with the advent of the overseas telegraph, though the telegraph was expensive and miscommunications still occurred. In March 1875, Petherick wrote to his father that Mr. Bunney of the Melbourne office had misunderstood his last missive and assumed that Petherick had questioned his authority (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 237).[15] Nevertheless, by 15 November 1875, Petherick boasted to his father that because of his firm's modern distribution and communication practices "people in Melbourne enjoy a greater privilege than Londoners in having such a varied stock to go to as George Robertson's—where they are yet able to purchase at English prices" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 261).

Petherick's location in London also allowed him to take advantage of advances in printing technology that further facilitated both the distribution and production of books for the Australasian market. For example, in a letter dated 18 February 1875, Petherick recounted meeting a Mr. Clay in "Kentish town" and enquiring about the purchase of "a steam lithographic press" for the Melbourne office (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 233). Petherick was able to purchase the latest presses and machinery for Robertson's printing facilities in Melbourne, which were opened in 1872 (Holroyd 39). Moreover, Petherick and Robertson bought stereotype plates in order to create Australian editions of popular works such as Helen Mathers' *Story of a Sin* (1882). A stereotype plate was an impression taken from movable lead type and used instead of the original type for printing. Stereotype plates were first perfected in 1801 but they were not in common use, at least in England, until decades later. However, by the 1850s most publishers were using them, especially if they thought that they might need to reprint a text. Allan Dooley argues that of particular importance to the portability of book moulds was the adoption of stereotyping because it allowed plaster—and later paper—moulds to be made which could be easily shipped or stored for later use (56). Alex Weedon further notes

> In Britain, the practice of taking a plaster of Paris or flong mould was an even cheaper way of storing the typesetting of a book. If it was commercially successful a stereoplate could be made from the mould, if it was not, then little was lost. As stereotyping became cheaper printers printed from the stereos and their type was distributed without going on the press. This meant that they did not need to keep large stocks and it prevented wear on type. In fact stereos lasted well and were kept for several decades. (28)

In various letters to publishers and authors, Petherick inquired about the purchase of stereotype plates, which could be easily shipped to Melbourne where Robertson could print up copies especially for the colonial market. For instance, Petherick proposed in 1876 that Richard Bentley sell the stereotype plates of "the best and most sellable" of the firm's novels to Robertson (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU 49 8 April 1876). In an article in the Melbourne *Argus* published on 21 February 1874, Petherick already claimed that Robertson had deals with other British firms to produce colonial editions: "A trade has sprung up in the department of local publication that promises to become in time something remarkable as an element in our social progress. By special arrangement with the leading publishers in London, Mr. Robertson acquires the right to issue special editions of popular works for which the demand is large, for Australasian circulation exclusively" (4). In the next section of this chapter I further detail Petherick's negotiations on Robertson's behalf with British publishers, but the important point to note at this juncture is both Robertson's and Petherick's utilization of new technology in their business.

Whereas in his first letter to his siblings Petherick bemoaned the great distances that separated him from his family, drawing a picture of the globe to illustrate that distance, by 1875 he proudly claimed that he could get books from anywhere in the globe quickly sent to the Australasian colonies and thought nothing of travelling in 1877 to Australia for a short visit home. Moreover, when he mentioned to his father on 10 May 1877 that he planned a visit, he added that he would also make a business trip to the United States and Canada on his way back to London. In the letter he asked his father "[d]o these things startle you. I hope not.

This is a wonderfully comprehensive business" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 320). While distance was a greater barrier to travel and business than it is today, the advances in the late nineteenth century in transportation and communications were as revolutionary as email is to this era. Petherick's attitude towards the distances between home and London undergo a 180-degree shift, as he thinks nothing of travelling to Melbourne then to North America before returning to London. Finally, as his letter suggests, by the late 1870s the business of books was increasingly becoming "comprehensive." This development necessitated that firms enter the international arena: if a bookseller, like Robertson, offered to get any book for a customer, he had to have contacts and business associates everywhere.

Over the course of Petherick's letters to his father and others, during his tenure as Robertson's London manager from 1870 to 1887, it becomes clear that improvements in transportation, communication, and production begin to positively affect not only Robertson's business but also the international book trade. As new, quicker trade routes were established, relatively "instant" overseas communication became possible, and as the means of production became less centralized the international book trade flourished. Petherick could boast that "[i]f a book is not to be found on G. R.'s shelves he can soon obtain it if it is in existence at all—whether in Great Britain, on the Continent, in India, or America" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 261). Nevertheless, Petherick's letters also indicate that developments in distribution, communication, and production were not without problems and the company did not always benefit from these advancements. James Raven argues that academics must, if examining the development of the book industry, refine their studies by considering both the innovations that spurred on growth and the constraints on this growth (19). Therefore, in examining Petherick's letters and situating both Petherick and Robertson's business within a field of international literary relations, one must take note that the impact of changing technology both positively and negatively influenced the book trade. Moreover, a number of Petherick's letters to authors and other publishers indicate that these changes in distribution, communication, and production affecting his business were also having an effect on other firms. Finally, Petherick's letters are also representative of how advances in technology facilitated and sometimes frustrated the growth of an international network that allowed Petherick and Robertson to have business affiliations with British, European, American, and Australian companies.

Publishers' Interest in the International Book Trade

While writing his memoir, Petherick recognized the importance of his correspondence with publishers and authors: "Correspondence and interviews with publishers and authors anxious to get their books into the Colonies, was of considerable amount and exceeding interest" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 92). First, his letters to his family and colleagues reveal the immense interest British, European, and American publishers had in the Australasian colonies and the growing overseas market for English-language books and texts. Secondly, the letters indicate that colonial booksellers and publishers, such as Robertson, were not in an unfavourable or unequal position in comparison to their British counterparts. Instead, Robertson situated his firm as a competitor and partner of more established European and British firms. Publishers more often than not negotiated with Robertson in order to gain entrance into the increasingly lucrative Australasian book market. The late nineteenth century was a period of both competition and negotiation as British publishing houses worked with their colonial counterparts to create a space for their publications outside England. An international book trade had existed for centuries, but the various developments in the second half of the nineteenth century enticed British and foreign publishers to begin regularly exporting large quantities of books to the colonies and elsewhere.

In the early nineteenth century, English publishers would at best send irregular shipments, often of remainders and excess stock, to be sold in the Australasian colonies. While publishers, such as John Murray, recognized as early as the 1840s that large colonial reading publics were interested in a regular supply of inexpensive reading matter, the British trade generally ignored the colonial markets until the late nineteenth century (Fraser 339). However, a lack of interest in the colonial readers changed after Australians, such as George Robertson, actively lobbied the British book trade to produce inexpensive books for the Australasian market, established London distributing offices, and pursued partnerships with London publishers in order to ensure the stable supply of books to the colonies. Between 1870 and 1887, the period when Petherick worked for Robertson as his London manager, London publishing firms bore witness to the exponential increase of book exports to Australia and elsewhere. The Australasian market in 1873 accounted for twenty to thirty percent of British book exports, and by 1897 accounted for roughly forty percent of exports (Askew and Hubber 116). Consequently, Petherick argued in the draft of his memoir that during his tenure as London manager publishers and authors were increasingly anxious to get their books into the Australasian market: "I arranged frequently for Special cheap editions of books likely to be in general demand and was the projector of the Colonial editions of which now nearly every publisher has a Series" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 92).

Persuaded by Petherick and Robertson that the burgeoning demand for books in Australia was an opportunity not to be missed, British publishers arranged with the firm to sell their books in the colonies. Included in Petherick's letters is correspondence from various British and Scottish publishing firms, including Chatto and Windus, George Adam Young, George Allen, and Richard Bentley and Son regarding the purchase, printing, and copyright of books for the Australasian market. For example, in a letter dated 12 August 1879, the Scottish religious publisher George Adam Young wrote that the completed sheets of the "New Liberal Translation of the Bible 2nd edition" would be ready for delivery within two weeks, and he could supply Petherick with boards (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 38). Petherick purchased the sheets for shipment to Robertson's Melbourne warehouse where the pages were bound into books. The rest of the letter makes reference to other works that Young felt would sell in the Australasian market, and that he would like to offer to Petherick. Young published bibles and religious texts specifically for sale in Australia and was in regular contact with Petherick who often purchased large enough quantities to merit a discount (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 40).[16]

Another source of information regarding Petherick's business interactions and business relationships on Robertson's behalf are the archives of British publishers.

For example, commission ledgers in the Longman archives indicate that between 1867 and 1908 Longman and Robertson had an arrangement for the marketing, and in some cases the reprinting, of William Edward Hearn's books in England (Holroyd 47; *Longman Archives* Reel 16, Vol. B14, p 512; Reel 19, Vol. B17, p 67).[17] Hearn's *Plutology* was first published by Robertson in 1863. Hearn was a political economist, politician, and university professor in Melbourne, who, with the British publication of *Plutology* in 1864, brought his work "to the notice of scholars in Europe and America" (La Nauze 370-72). *Plutology* was first published in England by Macmillan, who also had a business relationship with Robertson. Longman also published a British edition of *Plutology* in 1864, although the Longman commission ledgers do not include any statements for this publication. However, the ledgers do indicate that by 1883 Longman was selling copies of *Plutology* and two of Hearn's later publications, *The Government of England: Its Structure and Its Development* (1867) and *The Aryan Household* (1878), in Britain and the United States (*Longman Archives* Reel 21, Vol. B19, p 40). A similar arrangement was also made for the distribution and reprinting of Henry Parke's *Speeches on Various Occasions* in England after Robertson had first published the popular Australian politician's book in 1875 (Holroyd 53; *Longman Archives* Reel 19, Vol. B17, p 67). An 1876 joint reprint of *Speeches* included Robertson's Melbourne imprint, followed by Longman's London imprint. The Longman commission ledgers further reveal that Petherick, on Robertson's behalf, negotiated in 1875 for the right to produce, using Longman's stereotype plates, a Melbourne edition of Walter Richard Cassels' *Supernatural Religion*, which Longman had first published anonymously in 1874 (*Longman*

Archives Reel 18, Vol. B16, p 558). A note at the top of the ledger stated "Robertson to reprint the entire work from the 2nd Edition at his own cost and risk," with Longman's receiving "one half the profits."

Throughout the 1870s, Robertson often had to accept the risk for Australian editions of British books, first published by Longman, Macmillan, Bentley, and other houses. However, by the late 1880s, British publishers, desiring a larger share of the booming Australasian market, were offering their books, often deeply discounted, to the firm. In a January 1887 letter to Robertson, Swan Sonnenschein indicated

> We should be very pleased if we could do more business with you during this new year. Would an offer on our part for 1000 juveniles … at our lowest possible quotation, meet with your probable acceptance? We have some 12 to 20 new vols for our different-priced series in the press, and could include these for delivery in June next. Our gift books meet with such general approval both here and in America, that we feel sure you could use them freely. We consider them to be of a higher class, and better value, than any others in the market.[18] (*Swan Sonnenschein Archives* Reel 1, Vol. 2, p 339)

Swan Sonnenschein sought out Robertson as the leading Australian bookseller and wholesaler, whereas previously Robertson and Petherick had had to court British publishers in order develop publishing, distribution, and marketing partnerships.

Of all the London publishers with whom Petherick exchanged letters, his correspondence with George Bentley offers the greatest wealth of information regarding the evolving business relationship between Robertson's firm and London publishers.[19] While Robertson had published at least one Richard Bentley and Son publication before 1873, Petherick's letters to and from George Bentley, between 1873 and 1887, mark a period of increased business dealings between the two firms. Petherick, on George Robertson's behalf, approached George Bentley, with a proposal for a cheap colonial issue of Mrs. Henry Wood's novels. On 12 September 1873, Petherick wrote to Bentley "I beg to submit a proposal for a special cheap issue [of Mrs. Henry Wood's novels] for Australia which G.R. feels sure would not only on his part result in large sales but also ensure, respectable and commensurate profit to the owners of the copyright" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU 49). Furthermore, Petherick tried to interest the London firm by noting that other British publishers were reprinting novels for the Australasian market: "a similar arrangement has been made with the publishers of 'Ouidas' novels (for smaller quantities however) which … is still a speculation of G.R.'s part."[20] In the 1860s, George Robertson started the trend of applying to British publishers about reprinting "the latest novels in special editions at very cheap rates" for the colonial market (Holroyd 42). In a letter dated 30 March 1873, George Bentley favourably responded to Petherick's proposal; consequently, an agreement was struck to reprint Mrs. Wood's works for the Australasian market and produce "not less than 35000 to 50000 volumes in all" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU 49).

Following the Mrs. Wood deal, on 25 November 1875 Petherick approached George Bentley about a formal partnership with Robertson. The Australian bookseller wanted to "put [the Bentley] … imprint on any work of good character and in keeping with your own publications—which he might be issuing in Melbourne" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU 49). George Bentley agreed to the proposal, and on 8 April 1876 Petherick passed along Robertson's "great pleasure for the privilege of using your name, (i.e. Richard Bentley and Son) on the title page of any book he may issue, subject to conditions stipulated—that it shall be high class work, either Voyages or Travels or Works of Fiction, and desiring me to assure you that the privilege will not be used in any way that can passably be distasteful to you" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU 49). This partnership seemed to have been modelled on an earlier Robertson reprint of a Bentley publication, *South Sea Bubbles* by the Earl of Pembroke and Doctor Kingsley regarding visits to Tahiti, the Cook Islands, and Samoa, which had first been published in England in 1872. The title page of the colonial edition stated the book had been "printed for R. Bentley and Son, London, By George Robertson."[21] The title page included a warning at the bottom of the page: "This edition being printed for circulation in the Australasian Colonies only." However, in a 1 March 1873 letter, Robertson reported to George Bentley that "[t]he sale of my edition of the "South Sea Bubbles" has not come up to my expectations" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 45, Box 95, pp 248-49). Robertson apologized for the slow sale, noting that of the original 2,000 copies 850 remained unsold, but he stated that he was optimistic that the rest of the copies would eventually sell. He proposed an "experiment" in that he suggested he would produce at his own expense "illustrated wrapper boards at a cheap rate" (Richard *Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 45, Vol. 95, p 248-49). He planned to see if a better "wrapping" would sell the remaining copies of *South Sea Bubbles*. It is Robertson's, and later Petherick's, enthusiasm and belief in the Australasian market that eventually overcomes the London firm's initial resistance to colonial editions.

The partnership between George Robertson and Richard Bentley and Son was beneficial for both parties. Robertson, who claimed in his company's letterhead that the firm had "Agents and Trade Correspondents in every Town throughout the

Australian Colonies and New Zealand," bought large numbers of Bentley publications, gave Bentley imprints a prominent place in his Australian bookshops, and wholesaled Bentley's publications to other Australian, New Zealand, and colonial booksellers. Moreover, when Robertson published a work that interested George Bentley, but which he did not want to take the risk of publishing, copies of the work could then be sent to England and sold under the Richard Bentley and Son imprint. For instance, Bentley did not want to publish a memorial edition of Marcus Clarke's essays, which George Robertson eventually published in Melbourne. However, in a letter dated 3 October 1885, Bentley requested "a small number" of the books for the English market (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 86, p 80). Still, Holroyd argues that Robertson considered the London office as the one for the buying of books and not for the selling of books (53). Holroyd quotes Robertson from a letter to Henry Parkes in 1875: "'through this office I can, if you desire it, place a supply of your book in the hands of Simpkin, Marshall & Co … The regular publishers decline all books except such as they have the producing of it themselves.'" Nonetheless, Mackinnon's letter and a number of letters in the Petherick Collection suggest that even if Robertson's London office did not sell books, they occasionally shipped books from Australia for London publishers, booksellers, and readers. Furthermore, Robertson passed on manuscripts that either he was not interested in himself or that he wanted to publish jointly with Bentley. For example, on 31 December 1875, George Bentley wrote to Petherick agreeing to publish jointly with Robertson W. Thomas' new work on New Caledonia (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 41, Vol. 85, p 115). He based his decision solely on the recommendation of the Melbourne house, which Petherick had communicated to Bentley previously.

However, George Bentley was still resistant to the wholesale printing of cheap colonial editions, arguing in later dealings with Petherick that inexpensive editions were not profitable. In 1877, George Bentley offered Robertson the stereotype plates and Australian copyright of Helen Mather's *Cherry Ripe!* (1877) for fifty guineas. Added to the bottom of the letter was a note that stated, "Bentley will not be making any two-shilling edition[s] of *Cherry Ripe*!—as you are aware we very seldom publish any works under 6/- in price" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 41, Vol. 85, p 61). George Bentley did not want to run the risk of the firm losing money if the colonial editions did not sell in large enough quantities; he preferred to sell the copyright of a book rather than publish a cheap colonial edition.

George Bentley finally reconsidered the issue of cheap colonial editions when Marcus Clarke's widow approached him in 1881 about reissuing *For the Term of His Natural Life* (1874) for the English and Australasian markets (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* 42, 86, 80). In 1882, Bentley reprinted 1,000 copies of the novel, but for sale at the regular price. Bentley was under pressure from Mrs. Clarke to produce a cheap edition of *For the Term of His Natural Life* because she had threatened to ask an American publisher to reprint the novel (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 41, Vol. 85, p 389). On 24 June 1884, Bentley wrote: "The matter of a cheap edition of "His Natural Life" was carefully considered both with regards to Mrs. Clarke's interest and our own … It was [still] not thought wise to [issue] … the work in a less remunerative form …[:] in consequence of your letter [we] will consult Mr.

Robertson on the subject, as his opinion, being on the spot would be of special value" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 41, Vol. 85, p 452). While Robertson's response is unknown, after consulting with him, Bentley finally agreed to produce a cheap edition of Clarke's novel (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 86, p 50).

Following the successful sale of *For the Term of His Natural Life*, Bentley produced and Robertson distributed the Australian Library, which repackaged a number of books for which Bentley owned copyright.[22] The Library formed part of Bentley's larger second colonial series, entitled Special Editions for Colonial Circulation Only, which "consisted of titles (many of them reprints) selected by the publisher on an irregular basis for specific colonies" (Johanson 65).[23] The Australian Library, first referred to in 1887 in a draft of a new publication catalogue for booksellers, was conceived of as a list of "Australian Books and Especial Australian Editions" to be offered for sale separately and as a set in 1887 and 1888 (*British Library* Add. 59629, p 40).[24] The initial collection included Clarke's novel plus four other works: Caroline Leakey's *The Broad Arrow* (1859); Arthur Nicols' *Wild Life and Adventure in the Australian Bush* (1887); Frederick Edward Maning's *Old New Zealand: A Tale of the Good Old Times, and a History of the War in the North against the Chief Heke* (1876); and William Delisle Hay's *Brighter Britain: or Settler and Maori in Northern New Zealand* (1882). A mixture of informative historical texts, travel accounts, and novels, the Australian Library was trumpeted in the press by George Bentley as a collection for all Australians. The introduction to the

Australian Library catalogue described the library as focused on the special Australian qualities of the books in the collection:

> we should like to say a word about their literary merits. In the first place, they are all by Australian authors, and treat of Australian or New Zealand incidents, actual or imaginative, the narrations of fact we should judge very much predominating …. The Australian origin is as marked as the humorous mode of thought is in almost every American author, and from the chippy, detailed, and cynical style of a French novelist. There is one other point in the issue of these books worth referring to: it would seem to mark a distinct place in the literary life of Australia, the start of a home/produced—so far as authorship goes—series of novels, recording the day-to-day impressions [that] without some such record would gradually be forgotten. (*British Library* Add. 59629, pp 40-45)

Robertson and Bentley seized the opportunity to construct a competitive series that would be profitable in a burgeoning Australian market. Bentley and Robertson recognized that Australians increasingly wanted to read books about Australia and written by Australians.

Bentley marketed as Australian both the authors and books in the Library, going as far as to edit the books to emphasize their Australian qualities.[25] For example, the first edition of *The Broad Arrow*, published by Bentley in 1859, was a two volume, 847-page, religious tract that Bentley had Gertrude Townsend Mayer shorten for the Australian market. Over 400 pages were cut from *The Broad Arrow* in the process of abridging the novel from two volumes to one. Mayer's abridgement toned down Leakey's moralizing as well as her criticism of the Australian penal system: "she abbreviated and, in some instances, excised from *The Broad Arrow* material that made the novel individual and compelling, namely, its thorough-going critique of the convict system" (Mead 7). Moreover, in Bentley's account ledgers for the Australian Library there are references to most of the books in the series being abridged (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 40, Vol. 309, p 42 iii-v). Therefore, there is no reason to doubt that other texts in the Australian Library were similarly edited, in order to improve Bentley and Robertson's marketing of the books as Australian works for an Australian audience. According to Graeme Johanson the creation of a colonial edition did not usually result in any alterations: "Sometimes a publisher ordered a printer to correct typesetting errors in the colonial issue or allowed the author to revise colonial sheets, but usually these revisions resulted in minor amendments only. The creation of a colonial editions required no textual alteration" (12). Consequently, Bentley's actions in editing the books in the Australian Library were not the norm.

The Library was advertised as presenting works that should form part of a nascent Australian canon; however, the language of the advertising promotion for the Library reminds the reader that their heritage is ultimately British. This is a British list of the best works, chosen because the authors published with Richard Bentley, chosen because the copyrights were cheap, as in the cases of *For the Term of His Natural Life* and *The Broad Arrow*, and chosen because the genres represented were the popular ones of fiction, travel writing, and history. In other words, with British authors still "popular among Australian readers," yet with a growing nationalist sentiment in the 1880s, Bentley produced a *British* Australian canon with the Library—a Library that succeeded perhaps because it represented a vision of Australian culture that was decidedly British. Each of the Australian Library books had initial print runs of 2,000 copies (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 21, Vol.

41, p186). While the ledgers for this period are incomplete, they indicate that the books sold well and were reprinted in 1888 and 1892 (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 20, Vol. 40, p 107). The Library was the last major venture Richard Bentley and Son collaborated on with George Robertson. The year the Library was published, George Robertson downsized his London agency and concentrated his business on the distribution of books in Australia. While Robertson continued as an Australian distributor for a few of Bentley's publications, Petherick's Colonial Book Agency, which he established in 1887 with financing from London publishers, including Richard Bentley and Son, acquired the volume of Bentley's Australasian business.[26]

While Robertson had Petherick primarily focused on establishing business transactions with British publishers between 1870 and 1887, Robertson also asked him to make arrangements with European publishers in order to streamline the export of books from Europe. In a letter to his father dated 24 January 1872, Petherick wrote that "G.R. suggests the advisability of my taking a runner to Paris in order to open a few accounts with French publishers. So I hope before next writing to have had that pleasure trip" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 108). In a draft of his memoir Petherick referred to this business trip to Paris and other European cities to make arrangements with publishers, such as the French firm Hachette et Cie: "my travels include two or three short trips to Paris, and once upon a time I wandered through Belgium to Germany, as far as Berlin, Dresden and Leipzig, returning by the Rhine to Cologne" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 60). Four months after Petherick's initial trip to Paris, Robertson wrote to Petherick that the Australian "trade are now beginning to understand that our supplies are more reasonable than of old and in consequence to buy more freely" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 118).

Moreover, Petherick expanded the sphere of operations of the London office to include accounts with American publishers. In a letter, dated 11 June 1874, Petherick reported to his father that "[i]t is I who as you know opened up the accounts with Paris Publishers, And last year I opened up still larger and important accounts [with publishers] in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 215). By 1878, the firm was regularly importing books from the United States and occasionally participating in joint publications with North American publishers and British publishers. Examples of joint publications that the firm participated in include George Ogilvie's *Encyclopedia of Useful Information,* published in 1891 in conjunction with Ogilvie in London and William Brice in Toronto, and John O'Callaghan's *History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France*, published in 1886 in conjunction with Cameron and Ferguson in Glasgow, P.M. Haverty in London, P. Donahow in New York, and J. J. Moore in Boston. Because of all the changes Petherick made when he took over the reins of the London office from William Robertson, and new contracts with British, European, and American publishers, Robertson had a regular supply of inexpensive books for sale, which in turn encouraged both Australian booksellers and readers to buy more.

While Robertson was the dominant Australian wholesaler between 1870 and 1887, Petherick feared that if the firm did not continue to expand and develop its international contacts it would lose business to other firms.[27] In a letter to his father, dated 10 May 1877, Petherick forecast both the increasing competition in the industry and the eventual shift from London to New York, as the future hub of the international trade in English-language books. Petherick wrote to his father about the importance of both further expanding Robertson's business and establishing partnerships with American and Canadian publishing firms (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, pp 320-21). Petherick argued in his letter to his father that existing trade agreements with various European, British, and North American publishers were insufficient and buying the firm would necessitate expanding business further:

> If we purchase the business it will be necessary, desirable, to secure some of the business G. R. has been losing in New Zealand. I might effect that on my way back, I shall have to go to America shortly and it will be convenient to return that way via San Francisco. Do these things startle you. I hope not. This is a wonderfully comprehensive business and a vast amount of trouble. Outsiders might say I wouldn't have anything to do with N. Z. or I would leave the American book alone—Well, we must do it. If we didn't get the American books direct, we should have to purchase them in London at 20% advance in cost price and then we couldn't compete with others—besides which we shall have to secure representation of American publishers who are now looking sharply toward Australia and sending supplies direct to Australian ports, as we shall have to do.

North America was, in Petherick's opinion, rapidly becoming an important book centre and the firm needed to take advantage of the possibilities in the fledging trade between North America and Australia via the port of San Francisco, and the growing interest American publishers had in the Australasian market. Petherick argued in the letter that it was imperative that the firm expand operations by establishing further agreements with the leading North American publishers. Moreover, Petherick explained to his father that "[t]he Americans are ahead of England in the production of books on the Industrial and Mechanical Arts and probably works on Manufacturing and Agriculture, and for a new country they are likely to be more suitable and practical than English books on similar subjects." He acknowledged that United States publishers were producing nonfiction books more suitable to Australian consumers' tastes, and he argued that it was a bookseller's duty to provide the best possible books to the reading public. In order for the firm to both retain control of the Australasian wholesale business and compete with the established publishing houses, like Macmillan, which were also "looking sharply toward" colonial markets, Petherick believed Robertson had to continue expanding.

After visiting Melbourne in March 1878, Petherick crossed the Pacific to Honolulu and then to San Francisco, from where he travelled by "rail to Chicago, Toronto, Boston to New York, Philadelphia and Washington," briefly visiting publishers in each city before returning to London in May of that year (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 100). Unfortunately, no records have been found that detail which firms and individuals Petherick visited on his trip. The most revealing letters of Petherick's correspondence are those to his father, which detail his business relationship with George Robertson, his opinions on the state of the overseas book trade, and his belief that he was a central figure in the trade between Australia and the rest of the world. On 21 January 1874, after receiving a raise from Robertson, Petherick half-jokingly wrote to his father that "I like my work—only I may grow proud and conceited—think myself as important (and am I not in regard to my occupation equally as influential) as a Colonial Governor. Australians have seconded my efforts—they buy my books well, and seem to grow in confidence—Am I not conceited? Never under value yourself—nor think no one else can fill your place" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 186).

Petherick's father died shortly after Petherick first told him, in 1877, that a trip to North America would be necessary. Petherick also did not mention the North American trip in any of his other surviving letters. However, it is clear that his business trip, in 1878, to the United States and Canada concerned gaining some measure of control over the anticipated flood of American imprints into the colonial market and directly exporting to Australasia American books that had previously had to be ordered through London. However, Robertson failed to heed Petherick's advice that the company needed to be innovative, build on past successes, and expand to include the American market.

In September 1876, Robertson informed Petherick "that he was seeking a partner who could co-operate with Mr. Bunney so that he [Robertson] could retire" (Cullen 140). Robertson not only approached Petherick but also Mr. Bunney, his Melbourne manager, and two other men about purchasing a partnership in the firm. However, the would-be partners could not agree to work together and the other three "senior managers in the firm … bitterly resented … [Petherick's] role in the partnership offer" (145). In 1878, Robertson withdrew his offer of partnership, because he had changed his mind about retiring and possibly because he did not agree with Petherick that the firm needed to continue expanding and developing in order to stay competitive. Petherick returned to Britain as manager of the London office, but he bitterly complained in his memoir that during his second term as manager, between 1878 and 1887, Robertson pursued "a retrogressive policy which eventually wrecked a grand business" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 25).[28] Petherick wrote that Robertson slowly wound down the distributing business, offering him a weak explanation that he "'could invest his money to better purpose.'" Finally upon leaving the firm in 1887, Petherick established the Colonial Book Agency, which was financially backed by London publishers, including Routledge and Bentley, who recognized, even if Robertson did not, the value of having a knowledgeable, ambitious "distributing agent" directing the overseas sales of their publications in the Australasian colonies and elsewhere.

Authors' Interest in the International Book Trade

By the late nineteenth century, not only were publishers interested in placing their publications in the Australasian colonies, but authors were also increasingly anxious about the prospects of their book sales specifically in Australia. The majority of Petherick's business letters entail correspondence from authors who solicited Petherick for advice on the saleability of their books in either Australia or, for colonial writers, in England. Authors directly approached Petherick about selling their books in the colonies, or issuing, in conjunction with Robertson, cheap colonial editions. Also, sometimes on behalf of their British publishers and sometimes in conflict with their publishers, authors offered to sell the stereotype plates, which Robertson could then use to produce his own imprint for the Australasian market. Moreover, occasionally writers asked for Petherick's advice and help about what kind of books the colonial public wanted to read. British authors were aware of the importance of selling their books in the colonial market, recognizing that next to the

United States, Australasia formed the second largest market for English-language books by the late nineteenth century. Furthermore, the letters from various British and Irish authors suggest that authors recognized the central role Petherick, and in turn Robertson, had in facilitating and promoting the overseas trade.

Australians were a book-buying public, and authors who approached Petherick were conscious of the monetary gain possible if their work was sold in Australia. For instance, on November 23 1878 Joseph Parker wrote to Petherick regarding the firm's ordering of the *Fountain*, a collection of sermons, for the Australian market (Petherick Collection MS 760, 2, 31). Parker remarked that colonial correspondents often asked for his sermons and that he already had subscribers in Australia. He then stated that he would happily increase the number printed with his firm if Robertson purchased enough copies.

Petherick also often acted as an Australian agent for British authors who wished to have their work placed with Australian periodicals or newspapers. In a letter dated 14 September 1878, Charles Gibbon wrote that he had "arranged to begin an English pastoral story in the January No. of Belgravia, the tale continued throughout the year. I would be glad if you could make any arrangements for it in Australia" (Petherick Collection MS 760, 2, 29). Petherick's "prompt attention," motivated Gibbon to send the proofs to Petherick two days later (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 30). On 19 April 1883, Helen Reeves reported that she was arranging the publication of a serial in the United States and wondered if Robertson's London office could help her with placing it in Australia, even though Robertson had already rejected the manuscript (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, pp 127-28). To prove the serial's potential popularity, she offered to forward from her British publisher "this year's numbers [of book or serial sales] that you may judge of their merit." She added that she needed Petherick's help in placing the serial because she was in "the darkness" as to how to get her serial into the Australian market.

Other authors also sought Petherick's advice on selling books to Britain and elsewhere. For example, on 17 June 1884, Constance Gordon Cumming wrote to Petherick that she was glad to hear from him that her book, *From the Hebrides to the Himalayas* (1876), was selling well in Great Britain. She had doubts whether the book would sell overseas in England and the colonies after the horrible reviews in the local press in Fiji (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 169). She expressed hope that the popular new edition of the book published by Chatto and Windus would have a good run internationally, if for no other reason than that she was "so tired of being always associated with Fiji and being asked if all the people are still cannibals." In general, writers were aware of the financial advantage of placing their work before an international audience.

Petherick corresponded with a number of popular women novelists including Helen Reeves, Florence Marryat, and May Laffan Hartley, and their letters illustrate both the extent to which authors involved themselves in promoting the international publication and sale of their novels, and the particular interest many of these women novelists had in Australia. For example, in February 1882, Helen Reeves wrote to Petherick that after *Story of Sin* (1882) she would produce a book entitled *Sam's Sweetheart* (1883) which would be set in Australia (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, pp 126-28). She explained that the setting should help her in the Australian market and she predicted that the book would "perform" because she was specifically including Australian content to attract Australian readers. She also promised that the manuscript had been rewritten because "I made a beautiful hash of the Australian Aborigines, but I believe my facts are correct now, & would not damage either me or my publisher" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 126). Reeves was concerned that the book would be rejected by Robertson because of the unspecified problems she had had with her written portrayal of the Aborigines in the original draft of the novel. In her subsequent letter to Petherick she mentioned that Robertson was angry with her over the novel but that she would address the matter (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 128)—though I suspect Robertson's anger was actually directed at her tardiness in delivering the proofs of *Story of Sin*, the first novel by Reeves that Robertson had printed and bound in Australia (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, pp 81-89).

In general, authors were eager to see Australian editions of the books printed for retail in the colonies or at least the British editions exported to the colonies, as Reeves and others repeatedly stress the importance of the Australasian market to the international sales of their novels. For example, Marie Francis Cusack, a nun who founded the Irish order Sisters of Peace and wrote both novels and histories of Ireland, expressed in 1880 her hopes that her new book would "have a very large sale in Australia" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 62). Cusack underlined "very large" twice, presumably to emphasize her concern that her book sell well in Australia. Petherick and Robertson did not accept every book that was offered to them, and rejection often left the authors expressing sorrow over the loss of the

Australian sales. For instance, on 31 March 1879, Florence Marryat, who was the daughter of the famous author Captain Frederick Marryat and member of the D'Oyly Carte Opera Company, wrote to Petherick that she was sorry to hear "of the failure of my attempt to sell my book [British Edition] in Australia," and that Robertson would have to wait at least a year before he could produce a cheap edition for Australia so it would not clash with the existing edition (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 34). She added that her latest work was "passing through the presses," and if Petherick wished she could send him the proof sheets, if he thought this book might be optioned by Robertson.[29] Robertson was not the only wholesale supplier of British and European books, but he controlled the majority of the Australasian wholesale business. Consequently, the failure of authors to place their work with Robertson meant limited access to the Australasian market, whereas a successful business arrangement with Robertson meant the success of their book in finding a place in both Robertson's and other bookshops throughout the Australasian colonies.

It is interesting that authors sometimes approached Petherick directly and with the implicit consent of their British publishers, while on other occasions the authors would try directly to arrange for the sale of the book without their publisher's consent and knowledge. For example, Cusack offered her books to Petherick with the support of her publishers, Kenmare Publications (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 62). In contrast to Cusack's actions, Helen Reeves offered Robertson the rights to *Story of Sin* without the apparent knowledge of her publisher, Routledge. In July 1881, she wrote to Petherick that she had received a letter from her publisher that "reduces me to despair!" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 87). The letter informed her that her contract for the English rights of the book included the Australian rights. She expressed anger and bewilderment that she could arrange American and European sales of her novels, but not the Australian sale: "I had no idea of doing anything in any way dishonourable, and wish with all my heart I had not sold" the British rights. Once Routledge became aware of Reeves' side deal with Robertson, she was informed of her error. Reeves asked Petherick for advice because she did not "know what to reply to W. Routledge," adding that she could have originally sold *Story of Sin* to Messrs Low and avoided "all this unpleasantness." Apparently aware of the value of the Australian rights, Routledge was one of the first publishers to demand their authors sign away Australian rights when they came to an agreement on the British publication of a novel. Petherick's exact response to Reeves' request is unknown, but the following year Robertson's publication of *Story of Sin* in Melbourne suggests that he made an arrangement with Routledge for the Australian publication of the novel. If Robertson had made arrangements with Routledge for the Australian edition, this also explains why Reeves was slow in sending the proofs for the Australian edition—Routledge, not she, would benefit from the Australian sale of the novel.

Popular novelist May Laffan Hartley also dealt with Petherick and Robertson directly, offering to sell the stereotype plates of her novels to Robertson so they could be printed in Australia. Hartley first contacted Robertson on 3 April 1879, and wrote that she had "been long desirous of establishing a connection with an Australian firm of publishers and [you] have been recommended," most likely by George Bentley who had published the British edition of *Flitters and Tatters and the Counsellor and* *other Sketches* (1879) (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 53). She proposed to send a copy of *Flitters and Tatters* to Robertson in Melbourne, as well as "submit to you the reviews it has obtained here." Moreover, Hartley offered the "advance sheets of her new … novel," which would also be published by Lippincott's of Philadelphia. The Australian periodicals, "*The Melbourne Argus* and *Australasian* have both promised good reviews" that would promote the sale of *Flitters and Tatters* in Australia.[30] On 8 September 1879, Hartley followed up this letter with one to Petherick thanking Robertson for placing "an order last April for 200 copies of *Flitters and Tatters,*" and again offering him the "advance sheets of my new novel," which she had already arranged for British, American, and European publication (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 51). She expressed hope that either an imprint could be produced for Australia or Robertson would purchase copies of the book from the publisher Richard Bentley. Hartley was "very anxious to make a connection with the Australian public," and therefore reminded Petherick that she had decided to approach Robertson directly about further increasing her sales in the colonies. She also wrote that the illustrated edition of *Flitters and Tatters* had to be ready for American publisher Henry Holt's inspection in October of 1879. Trying to interest Petherick in this new illustrated edition, she wrote that Holt, who was visiting Europe, had, if the book was completed on time, offered to take "a quantity with him to New York next month." Hartley remarked that the early imprints of the *Flitters and Tatters* were "selling by thousands" in America, and she thought an inexpensive form of this book would also sell well in Australia. Consequently, she asked Robertson to "reprint it in cheaper shape in Australia."

Five days later Hartley followed up on her letter of 8 September, repeating her offer to send the proofs of her new novel, which she wished to have reprinted in cheap form for the Australian market, and again reminded Petherick that *Flitters and Tatters* was selling well in the United States, although she did mention that her "success [there] has been chiefly one of esteem" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 50). Hartley wanted to be sure of "foreign orders" for the new illustrated edition of *Flitters* because she did not expect much remuneration from the United States where Lippincott's had published a fifteen-cent edition of her book. She offered to see Robertson, who was visiting London, in order to speak further with him regarding the sale of her books in Australia: "I am quite sure that the Australian sale will equal the American one before long." If Petherick and Robertson were not convinced regarding Hartley's eagerness in penetrating the Australia market, another letter, dated 24 September 1879, was sent to Petherick once again thanking him for the order of *Flitters and Tatters* and further offering Petherick "a set of proofs of a new shilling book which will appear in the 10 November press—in London, Canada, and Philadelphia." She "was pleased to sell [Robertson] … stereos or the manufactured book," whichever would suit (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 48).

On 27 September 1879, Petherick thanked Hartley on Robertson's behalf for the offer of the stereotype plates of her new book *The Game Hen* (1880) (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 47). However, he said that they would purchase only 100 or 200 copies of the English issue for the Australian market. Only half the order of her last book, *Flitters and Tatters*, had sold in Australia; if Robertson could not sell more than 1,000 copies of a novel, it was not profitable for the firm to purchase the stereotype plates of her next book in order to create a colonial edition.

Hartley's persistence and interest in selling her books to Australians, was not unusual. Petherick received numerous letters from authors and publishers eager to work with him and Robertson to ensure the sale of their books in Australasia. For example, Richard Francis Burton sought Petherick's help in distributing circulars for the private publication of *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night* (1885), which Burton also referred to as *The Arabian Nights and Tales.* In a letter dated January 1885, Burton reported that he was sending more circulars to Petherick, regarding the impeding private publication of *Arabian Nights*, and that "I have 4 [volumes] ready for Press" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 180). It seems that Petherick was helping Burton to distribute circulars advertising the book's publication. In a second letter, in October of that year, he again thanked Petherick for helping him and asked "[s]hall I send you any more?" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 183). The advertising circular stated that the "author will pay carriage of volumes all over the United Kingdom. A London address is preferred" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 200). However, the fact that Petherick, as London manager of an Australasian wholesale and bookselling business, was helping to distribute the subscription circular suggests that the book may have had subscribers in the colonies.[31]

As Hartley noted, foreign sales of books were important to both authors and publishers because, owing to the lack of international copyright protection, neither often received payment for books reprinted in the United States. Consequently, authors, such as Hartley and Reeves, felt that the financial success of their books depended upon their direct engagement of foreign and colonial wholesalers and publishers regarding the international sales. Moreover, Hartley and Reeves were eager to produce cheap editions of their novels because cheap editions both offered authors some measure of financial gain and combated the inexpensive pirated copies. Furthermore, the large sale of colonial editions of one novel might lead to increased sales of future publications. Hartley expected little remuneration from the American sale of her illustrated edition of *Flitters and Tatters*: "I barely escaped losing money by it" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 49). She vowed never to "meddle in publishing again," yet her letters to Petherick suggest that the lesson she actually learned was to intervene directly in the publication and sale of her novels in order to safeguard if not further her interests. Hartley and Reeves both recognized that in order to succeed as authors, both in terms of renown and financial gain, they needed the largest possible audience; therefore, they sought out Robertson and Petherick in order to aid in the international circulation of their novels.

Conclusion

As authors and publishers were increasingly "anxious" to negotiate the sale of their books in the Australasian market, Robertson's business grew rapidly. In a letter to the British Secretary of the General Post Office, dated 21 March 1882, Petherick reported on the steady growth of Robertson's use of the Brindisi shipping route to send mail and parcels to Australia between 1877 and 1881: in 1877 Petherick shipped 5,871 parcels to Melbourne, in 1878 the total number of parcels exported rose to

6,331, and by 1881 the number of parcels sent out was 7,087 (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, pp 90-91). Petherick wrote that in total, between 1877 and 1881, the London office shipped to Australian by way of the Brindisi route over 31,563 parcels valued at £15,000, "none of which have been reported lost, or undelivered."[32] Moreover, whereas the parcels had been sent before 1879 to the central warehouse in Melbourne for further distribution throughout the Australasian colonies, the rapid expansion of the business and increased competition, coupled with advancements in transportation, communications, and production, resulted after 1879 in the London office's direct distribution of parcels of books and stationery to the various cities in Australia, New Zealand, and the other colonial markets throughout the region (Cullen 118).

Increasingly, Petherick realized that this "wonderfully comprehensive business" meant that those involved in the international book trade needed to cooperate, as well as compete, on a global stage (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 320). This chapter, although focusing on the growing interest of publishers and authors in the international market, does not mean to suggest that other agents in the book trade were not also competing for business outside their traditional markets. For example, in the back pages of S. E. Heaton's *Australian Dictionary of Dates and Men of the Time*, published in Australia by Robertson in 1879, is an advertisement for Gordon and Gotch: "General News, Advertising, Publishing and Press Telegraphic Agents, importers of English, American, and Continental Magazines & Newspapers. Advertisements received and Forwarded to all parts of the World." Gordon and Gotch were an agency, unlike Robertson's firm, that focussed on periodicals, and also helped to place advertisements for colonial, American, and British businesses.[33] Their advertisement also stated that they were the Australian agents for six Scottish and English firms that produced and sold ink, type, printing machinery, and paper. Within this emerging field of international literary relations, agents were competing to sell not just various publications but also both the advertisements that appeared in the books and the machinery that printed and bound the same books.

Also, trade periodicals for the international sale of books and stationery developed during this period. For example, *The Export Journal: International Circular for the Book, Paper and Printing Trades* was established in 1887 by G. Hedeler in Leipzig. The journal was written in French, German, and English and included lists and catalogues of new publications, as well as articles on copyright law, publishing houses, emerging markets, duties, postal tariffs, and other topics of interest to the trade. In the first issue of the journal, Petherick wrote an article, "Australasia: Bookselling and Stationery Trades," which examined statistics revealing the growth of the English-language book trade and the fact that there "is one bookseller and stationer for every 4250 persons in the colonies" (9).[34] All aspects of the book trade—production, distribution, and consumption—were being contested by companies and individuals that realized that the future of the book trade lay in the international field.[35]

In the late nineteenth century, Edward Petherick moved through many of the "ante-rooms" that made up the field of international production and distribution. Through his associations with and connections to other agents in the field, he disseminated the idea that books and texts could and should circulate internationally.

Graeme Johanson argues that key figures in the Australasian book trade "were permitted to make a contribution to the publishing programmes of British publishers" (59). Petherick's correspondence suggests no one "permitted" either Robertson or Petherick's contributions; instead, they persuaded British publishers of the practicality and necessity of supplying books specifically for Australasia, and to a certain degree they held a great deal of sway with the established publishers when it came to deciding what did and did not get published for the Australasian market. Johanson contends that "[i]n all official correspondence Petherick used his principal's letterhead, so that it is not always apparent how many of the ideas expressed by Petherick were his, and how many were Robertson's" (60). However, both Petherick's personal and business letters strongly imply that many of the progressive and innovative ideas for expanding and securing business for Robertson's firm were Petherick's. Certainly when Petherick left Robertson's firm, Bentley, Longman, Macmillan, and other British publishers quickly proffered monetary support for the creation of the Colonial Book Agency (*Richard Bentley and Sons Archives* Reel IU 49, 3 October 1888; *Longman Archives* Reel 65, Vol. N132, Aus.). Finally, Petherick's correspondence makes an excellent starting point for teasing out the rhizomic network(s) of interactions between agents in the emerging international book trade. While Petherick admitted to his father that the business of books could be "a vast amount of trouble," his correspondence suggests that he, along with others, felt that it was a worthwhile business all the same (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 320-21).

Notes

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[1] While Petherick refers to himself as the London manager, the letterhead for business correspondence lists him as "Home Manager"—a designation that emphasized the role of London as the centre of the British Empire.

[2] Robertson started his bookselling business in Melbourne in 1852, and he published his first book in 1855. He continued throughout the later half of the nineteenth century to publish both reprints of British, European, and American books, as well as first editions of British and Australian texts (Holroyd 45). However, Robertson is typically described as a bookseller and wholesaler, not a publisher, even though some academics have recognized him as the "'father' of Australian publishing" (57). Throughout my study I refer to Robertson as bookseller, wholesaler, *and* publisher, as Petherick's letters indicate that increasingly in the 1870s Robertson was interested in "going more & more into the manufacturing line" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 214).

[3] Kirsop notes that the other Australian firm that opened a London office around the same time as Robertson was J. Walch and Sons ("Bookselling and Publishing" 32).

[4] I examine George P. Brett's solution to the problem of international financial transfers in Chapter Five.

[5] In an earlier letter, dated 22 March 1871, Petherick told his father that "[w]ith respect to what you say in regards to my interest here or in Melbourne, I'd far rather in a business point of view be in Melbourne" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 79).

[6] There seem to be two memoirs which are bundled together in the Petherick Collection. The quotation seems to be from a memoir that Petherick started to write in 1883 while working for Robertson. This memoir is not dated but on the following page from this quotation Petherick states that he has been working in London for thirteen years (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 59). The second memoir seems to have been written between 1907 and 1909.

[7] The underlining and comments in parentheses are Petherick's.

[8] In *Linking a Nation*, Robert Lee examines the history of transportation and communication in relation to the development of Australia, including how advances in shipping design decreased the length of time it took to transport goods from England to Australia.

[9] Underlining in the original document.

[10] The fragment of Petherick's larger letter to Robertson is not dated but was found with other letters from the early 1870s.

[11] Emphasis in original letter.

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[12] To find the approximate contemporary equivalents to an amount of money from the period between 1870 and 1894 multiply the figure by seventy-two (Nisbet http://www.victorianweb.org/economics/inflation.html).

[13] The microfilmed Bentley Archives from the University of Illinois (IU) are not indexed, though the letters are dated and whenever possible I will provide a date.

[14] John Holroyd also notes that "George Robertson was one of the earliest subscribers to the telephone exchange, which was then a private company. The number, 135, was used by the firm for many years after the telephone was installed in 1882" (58).

[15] Frequently mentioned in Petherick's letters to his father, Mr. Bunney seems to be Robertson's Melbourne business manager. While Petherick wrote directly to Robertson and typically received letters of instruction from Robertson, he also occasionally received letters of instruction from Bunney. However, it seems from the letters that Bunney and Petherick were of similar rank within the firm.

[16] Please see Chapter Five for a brief discussion of the discounts Young offered Robertson.

[17] The three types of editions that a British publisher might issue in conjunction with an Australian firm are joint editions, Australian editions, and colonial editions. In many cases the three terms are used interchangeably in Petherick's letters, and his usage of the terms can cause some confusion. However, there are slight differences in the three terms. First, a joint edition only implied that the colonial and British publishers had an agreement to publish a book. The book did not necessarily have to be intended for sale only in the colonial market. Secondly, an Australian edition either suggests a book published for the Australian market or, as is the case with Bentley and Robertson's Australian Library, a book with Australian qualities. Thirdly, a colonial edition was a loose term that could encompass both joint editions and Australian editions, and was frequently used in "[i]ts entire adjectival scope … to relate to British books produced for the British colonies long after they ceased to be colonies officially, British books produced entirely in the British colonies for the colonies and/or for Britain, books printed and bound in the colonies for the colonies, and books about the British colonies" (Johanson 14).

[18] Juveniles were children's books.

[19] The section on Petherick's negotiations with Bentley draws on research from my MA thesis, "Cultural Darwinism and the Literary Canon: A Comparative Study of Susanna Moodie's Roughing It in the Bush and Caroline Leakey's The Broad Arrow."

[20] During the 1870s, Ouida's London publisher was Chatto and Windus, and her American publisher was Lippincott. The Petherick Collection contains a couple of letters from Chatto and Windus but none of them mention Ouida. Also, Petherick

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makes mention in a letter to his father in 1877of visiting American publishers, including a publisher in Philadelphia where Lippincott was based (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 320). Therefore, Petherick might be referring to either publisher in the letter to Bentley regarding colonial editions.

[21] The book was not only printed in Melbourne but also, according to a sticker on the back cover, bound by George Robertson.

[22] Robertson is not listed in Bentley's catalogue as the Australian publisher or wholesaler. However, the title page of *The Broad Arrow*, one of the books in the Library, lists Robertson's imprint at the bottom of the page under Richard Bentley and Son's imprint.

[23] Johanson notes the important alliance between Richard Bentley, George Robertson. and Edward Petherick, and credits Petherick and Robertson for many of the ideas that spurred on Bentley to create colonial editions or special editions for Australia (59). Also, Johanson argues that "[a]lthough we have no evidence that Petherick ever made similar suggestions to Macmillan before the advent of its Colonial Library, it is possible … Macmillan used George Robertson for Australian distribution. The interactions were complex, and are now difficult for the historian to disentangle. Macmillan went so far in 1887 as to consider buying George Robertson's Adelaide office, to use as its own Australian branch" (62).

[24] Johanson defines series as having a uniform appearance and price that appeared under a general title (10). In contrast, library was "a marketing word favoured by publishers from the 1830s onwards to encourage buyers to collect all items in a series of cheap books, often a miscellaneous collection of titles in which it is difficult today to discover any homogeneity" (10).

[25] Markus Clarke and Frederick Manning, the author of *Old New Zealand* (1876), were British emigrants who had settled in Melbourne. Also, both Caroline Leakey and William Hay testify in the prefaces to the Library editions of their books that they were not simply British visitors, regardless of how long they did or did not stay in the colonies, but had emigrated to the colonies with the intention of settling there.

[26] Please see Chapter Five for a brief history of Petherick's Colonial Book Agency.

[27] Johanson notes that by the late 1880s London publishers had "agents resident in Australia" and British representatives took "frequent trips" to the colonies (66). The need for an independent wholesale firm like Robertson's was diminishing, unless the firm could offer a wider array of texts at better prices than anyone else.

[28] In 1883 Robertson turned his business into a public company, but in 1887 he bought back the shares and installed himself and his sons as the principal partners in the firm (Holroyd 41-42). Petherick refers in his letters and unpublished memoirs to

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Robertson's retiring in 1887 but other documents suggest Robertson retired at a later date.

[29] Florence Marryat was a prolific author: in 1879 the Tinsley Brothers, a London firm, published *Her Word Against A Lie: A Romance in Three Books* and *A Broken Blossom: A Novel* . Also, in 1879, three of her novels were reprinted in the United States and another novel was reprinted in Canada. Marryat did not provide the name of the novel in the letter to Petherick; consequently, she could be referring to any of the novels issued in 1879.

[30] Richard Bentley was a well-known puffer, who would pay reviewers to extol the virtues of a book. It is possible that Petherick and Robertson also practised puffery (Gettmann 60)..

[31] The *Petherick Collection* includes samples of the advertising circular that states that *Arabian Nights* is to be published by Burton, "having neither agent nor publisher" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, pp 194-200). Nothing in Petherick's personal or business correspondence suggests that he was a friend of Burton.

[32] This number does not include the parcels and larger shipments that Petherick sent by other routes.

[33] Gordon and Gotch followed Robertson's example and opened a London office in 1867. The firm is still in operation and has branches around the world, including Canada.

[34] Petherick promised at the end of the article that "[i]n out next issue we hope to give some further statistics with remarks on the prospects of the Book Trade, especially as regards German and Continental literature." While Petherick did not write for the journal again, there were other columns on the Australian trade in the journal.

[35] The November 1881 issue of *George Robertson's Monthly Book Circular* also noted the emerging demand in foreign countries for English books in translation: "Mr. Mongredien's essay on "Free Trade and English Commerce" has just been translated into Japanese, and is now on sale throughout Japan at a very low price" ("Literary Notes" 2).

Chapter Four—Piracy and Copyright

The field of international literary relations is embedded in—and indirectly affected by—changing social, economic, political, and technological conditions. Therefore, in order to understand the development of the late nineteenth-century international book trade, one must account for the social, economic, political, and technological transformations that shaped its expansion. Jan Aart Scholte explains that "[t]he hundred years after 1850 saw the advent of the first global communications technologies, the consolidation of the first global markets, some elements of global finance, and a degree of globality in certain organizations" (65-66). Moreover, two essential developments of "incipient material globalization [an international gold standard and a free trade system] … helped to spread global thinking to more contexts and to wider circles of people from the mid nineteenth century onwards" (72).[1]

In 1821, the British Currency Commission, chaired by MP and later Prime Minister Robert Peel, introduced the idea of a gold standard as a "particular solution to the problem of exchange currencies" (O'Brien and Williams 87); the international gold standard fully emerged in the 1870s following its adoption by Germany, France, the United States, and other countries. Before the gold standard, transnational trade was complicated by the fact that there was not a standard currency exchange rate between countries. In an international gold-standard system, the currencies of member countries "are fixed to gold, but can move in relationship to each other" (86).[2] The establishment of the gold standard "facilitated the movement of money from one country to another … [and] the nineteenth century saw the beginning of very large capital flows through the international system" (88). The second development in the nineteenth-century international system vital to the book trade was "the appearance of the doctrine and practice of free trade." Free trade was a theory developed by David Ricardo, a British member of Parliament in the early nineteenth century, who "suggested that by specializing in the product that you make best and engaging in free trade you can benefit even if other people make the products better than you do" (89). The tensions and debates caused by free trade were commonplace in the nineteenth century: "Although the British state signed on to the free trade economic policy, the wider international acceptance of the doctrine was mixed" (89). The British government promoted and supported free trade on a unilateral basis rather than in terms of reciprocity, and "many countries feeling unable to compete with British economic dominance erected protectionist barriers" (100). Additionally, these unilateral trade policies were also accompanied by "unprecedented imperial expansion" (94), which in turn created new markets for Western goods.

The nineteenth-century field of international literary relations was influenced by these social, economic, and political changes, especially the debate concerning free trade versus protectionism. However, the literary field is a social universe with its own laws of functioning; ultimately, external factors such as social, economic, and political issues indirectly influence the field. For example, Bourdieu argues that

> [t]he parallelism between the economic expansion of the 1860s and the expansion of the literary production does not imply a relationship of direct determination. Economic and social changes affect the literary field indirectly, through the growth in the cultivated audience, i.e. the potential readership, which is itself linked to increased schooling .... The existence of an expanding market, which allows the development of the press and the novel, also allows the number of producers to grow. The relative opening up

> of the field of cultural production due to the increased number of positions offering basic resources to producers … had the effect of increasing the relative autonomy of the field and therefore its capacity to reinterpret external demands in terms of its own logic. (54-55)

The structuring logic of the field of international literary production and distribution relates to the large-scale manufacture and circulation of books for the international market and the varying economic advantage of different agents within this trade. In the nineteenth century, the introduction of the international gold standard and free trade, as well as imperial expansion, affected the literary field, but the effect was filtered through the logic of the field. These social, economic, and political issues were principally reflected in the field of international literary relations through the two related concerns of book piracy and copyright. How agents, such as George Robertson, Edward Petherick, and George E. Brett, responded and/or reacted to piracy and the lack of international copyright protection affected their ability to capitalize and to improve on their relative positions within the field.

The problem of book piracy, or the reprinting of books without the consent of either the author or publisher, "was becoming more acute" in the nineteenth century (Feather 150). Three factors stimulated the growth of the reprint industry of English-language books: "First, the English language came to be more widely known on the continent, and more English people travelled there. This created a demand for English books in Germany, Italy and France, which was largely met by local printers reprinting fashionable English works" (150). Secondly, the growing demand in the American market for British literature was large enough to validate reprinting British publications in the United States, and there was a rapid proliferation of unauthorized imprints in the 1830s "as the American book trade tried to survive a depression which ravaged it as much as it did other parts of the American economy" (154). Thirdly, while countries developed copyright laws that protected "their own citizens" in the first half of the nineteenth century, not until much later in century did a few countries enact laws that protected the rights of foreign authors in local markets.

However, the term piracy is problematic given that few international laws existed before the ratification of the Berne Convention (1886) and the Chase Act (1891), which prohibited the unauthorized reprinting of British books. In the nineteenth century

> [t]here was, in law, no reason why any American publisher should seek permission to reprint a British book. It is important to recognize that the reprinters, despite the fact that British authors and publishers always referred to them as 'pirates', were not acting illegally in their own country. Some American reprints were imported into Britain, which was illegal, but the scale of the operations was very small. (Feather 154)

Nevertheless, while the term book piracy may be somewhat inaccurate, it is a useful heuristic term that characterizes how individuals felt about the practice of reprinting books without the permission of the author or publisher. Not only was book piracy a term commonly used in the nineteenth century, but it is also a term currently used to refer to the reprinting of someone else's intellectual property. As a result, I refer to the practice of reprinting books without authorization as book piracy in this study.

While the pirates were predominantly described as American in the nineteenth century, piracy was not solely an American occupation. On the contrary, British, Australian, Canadian, Dutch, and many other publishers and printers of diverse nationalities also pirated books. For example, British publishers George Routledge and Richard Bentley were both "equally unscrupulous in reprinting American books without permission" (Feather 154). Still, in the British and colonial press, and in the business letters of British and Australian publishers, the pirates were predominantly described as Americans. In the American press, and in the business letters of American publishers, the culprits were portrayed more often than not as Canadian publishers and printers. A lack of any international laws and regulations governing the publication and distribution of books created a legal vacuum that allowed the reprinters to operate with impunity.

Furthermore, the fear of piracy was pervasive in the nineteenth century, whether a book trade was under assault from inexpensive reprints or not: publishers, authors, printers, and others were anxious that the pirates were invading their markets and threatening their businesses. The growth of the relatively universal fear of book piracy had a symbiotic and rhizomic relationship with the development of the international book trade: the histories of copyright and book piracy are intertwined with each other, and also with the development of the international book trade in the nineteenth century. Individuals and firms involved in the field of international literary relations engaged, discussed, and debated the effects of and solutions to book piracy, and these interactions eventually resulted in the development of both professional associations and international copyright treaties. However, diverging perspectives and opinions initially led to a period of competing practices between individuals, firms, and different sectors of the book trade. For example, while certain individuals and firms fought book piracy, others within the book trade embraced the reprint industry and accepted it either as a necessary evil or as the future of the trade.

Nevertheless, as publishers, authors, booksellers, and others in the book trade either confronted actual book piracy or worried about the spectre of foreign companies potentially flooding local markets with reprints, the outcome was increased cooperation between individuals and firms both locally and internationally. Moreover, reprinters also collaborated with others in the trade, and with politicians who supported the reprint industry, initially to hinder the development of an international copyright treaty, but eventually to secure concessions in national and international laws that would legalize reprinting, while compensating the owners of copyright. Thus, the various debates and divergent perspectives concerning book piracy and international copyright law generally led to increased cooperation among participants in the industry, and this increased collaboration supported the development of social, political, and economic associations within the field of literary relations. Furthermore, the creation of national and international literary organizations and business partnerships subsequently influenced the rhizomic spread and growth of literary networks and relations that nurtured the expansion of the international book trade in the late nineteenth century.

Throughout the fourth chapter I examine how the fear of book piracy and the lack of international copyright fostered a certain amount of cooperation and collaboration among networks of publishers, wholesalers, authors, booksellers, and others involved in the production and distribution of books. Initially, I consider how William and George Robertson attempted to use the widespread fear of book piracy to pressure British publishers into developing the trade between England and the Australasian colonies. Moreover, I explore the effect of book piracy and the implementation of the British Foreign Reprints Act on the late nineteenth-century Canadian book trade; specifically, I analyze how book piracy and a lack of international copyright influenced the publication of Canadian author William Kirby's novel *The Chien d'Or* (1877). Finally, I survey articles and letters in the American book trade periodical *The Publishers' Weekly*, from 1879, that debate the threat of Canadian book piracy and the need for an international copyright treaty. Also, I analyze the correspondence of George E. Brett, who managed the New York office of the British publishing firm Macmillan from 1869 to 1890, and his son George P. Brett, who replaced his father in 1890 as manager. George P. Brett supervised Macmillan's American operation first as manager, between 1890 and 1896, and later as president, between 1896 and 1931 (Madison 262-69). Their letters to Frederick Macmillan provide an interesting counterpoint to the discussions in *The Publishers' Weekly* regarding copyright law and book piracy; father and son struggled to carve out a space in the American market for Macmillan, and devised ways to defeat both the Canadian and American book pirates.

Fear of Book Piracy and the Australian Book Trade

Before Britain ratified the Berne Convention in 1886, a patchwork of Imperial and Continental copyright laws existed that weakly protected British authors' and publishers' rights in Britain, the colonies, and some European nations.[3] For example, the 1842 Imperial Copyright Act "gave protection throughout the Empire to works first published in London or Edinburgh, and made provision for prohibiting unauthorized foreign reprints of British copyrights into British territory" (Parker, *Beginnings* 106). While the Act directed Customs officials to seize unauthorized reprints, Customs' enforcement of the law was uneven, and American reprints of British books continued to flow into British North America and other colonies. Colonial booksellers lobbied British publishers to produce inexpensive colonial editions that could compete against the American reprints, but the only publisher who heeded their request was John Murray. Murray produced his short-lived colonial library, which consisted of forty-nine titles published between 1843 and 1849, as a substitute to the unauthorized reprints that were typically described as "neither handy nor in readable type, being printed in minor type" and on poor quality paper (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU 49, Petherick, 17 July 1880). Still, the Colonial Library was an unsuccessful venture for Murray because of the competition the series faced from the cheaper reprints that continued to flow into the British colonies. Furthermore, British North American booksellers and politicians continually lobbied the British government to repeal the Imperial Copyright Act until it was finally amended in 1847. Titled the Foreign Reprints Act, the amendment to the Imperial Copyright Act legalized the sale of unauthorized reprints in the colonies; this legalization negatively affected sales of titles in Murray's Colonial Library (Johanson 221).

The Foreign Reprints Act was principally influenced by the doctrine of free trade. The Act allowed British colonies to pass laws that permitted the relatively free circulation of reprints in the colonies and placed an onus on the colonies to collect duties in order to compensate British publishers and authors for the violation of copyright. While British North America quickly took advantage of the Act, other colonies, including the Australasian colonies, opted to remain under the auspices of the 1842 Imperial Copyright Act. The "ever-present problem of [Australia's] distance from Britain" kept the flow of both authorized and unauthorized books to an irregular trickle. While Kirsop cautions academics that "[w]hat is essential is not remoteness from some metropolitan centre … but sharing the same language and cultural heritage," he acknowledges that the effect of distance on the development of the Australasian book trade cannot be completely ignored ("From Colonialism" 325). In the 1840s and 1850s, book piracy was not a problem in the Australasian colonies because the colonies were too remote for reprinters to easily sell their wares. Expensive transportation and distribution costs quickly turned inexpensive reprints into expensive reprints that were no cheaper than the authorized books. However, distance did not isolate the Australasian book trade from the fear of book piracy.

The British colonies found it impossible both to prevent the flow of unauthorized reprints into the colonial markets, such as Africa and India, that had not taken advantage of the 1847 Foreign Reprints Act, and to collect the revenue owed to British and colonial copyright holders in the markets, such as British North America, that had taken advantage of the Act. Reflecting these failures, reports indicated that the fear of book piracy was pervasive throughout the international book trade, especially in the British Empire in the mid nineteenth century. Moreover, this fear spread like a contagion and infected the network of book production and distribution between Britain and the Australasian colonies. Still, both Wallace Kirsop and Brian Hubber argue, in their respective studies of book piracy in the nineteenth-century Australasian market, that there were few documented accounts of American or foreign unauthorized reprints circulating in the colonies (Kirsop, "Bookselling" 34; Hubber 22). While it is possible that a few cases of book piracy might have gone undocumented in Australasia in the period between 1850 and 1880, the interest of local and British media and the book trades in the issue suggest that any incidents of book piracy would surely have been documented. Consequently, Kirsop and Hubber contend that book piracy was not a problem in the Australasian colonies.

If the actual threat of book piracy in the Australasian colonies was negligible in the nineteenth century, especially when compared to the problem in the book trades in North America and in other parts of the British Empire, why were the few reported accounts of book piracy in colonies so heavily publicized? Enterprising booksellers and wholesalers purposely spread the fear of book piracy to mobilize both their industry and the British book trade into developing the trade between England and the colonies. Beginning in the mid nineteenth century, individuals in the Australasian book trade capitalized on the widespread fear of piracy in order to plant the seeds of panic in the British-Australasian book trade. The danger of a foreign "invasion" of the local colonial markets was inflated in order to cultivate the fear that the Australasian market "will be closed, and perhaps closed for ever, against English editions of many works" (William Robertson 115). In particular, both William Robertson and George Robertson exaggerated the quantity of American and foreign unauthorized reprints circulating in Australasia, and they tried to pressure British publishers into sending regular and inexpensive shipments of books and stationery to the colonies. Also, they positioned George Robertson's Melbourne firm as a business partner that would protect British publishers' interests in the Australasian colonies and facilitate the sale of British books in the "booming" Australasian market.

In a letter printed in the 27 January 1855 issue of *The Athenaeum*, William Robertson responded to a letter previously published in the British literary journal by British author William Howitt, who had visited Australia and found the market saturated with unauthorized foreign imprints of British books. William Robertson was the brother of Melbourne bookseller, publisher, and wholesaler George Robertson, and he agreed with Howitt that there was a problem with book piracy in the colonies.[4] He also observed that if the circulation of unauthorized, inexpensive American imprints was allowed to go unchecked, British publishers, with their more expensive books, would be shut out of the growing Australasian market:

> The subject of the actual working of the Copyright Law in Australian and our other Colonies is one of considerable importance as affecting the interests of English publishers; for it is the case, as stated by Mr. Howitt 'that it is not likely that any law in any of our Colonies will in any degree prevent the freest and fullest circulation of such editions,' then the result will be that a market, likely to be always increasing, will be closed, and perhaps closed for ever, against English editions of many works; for it is not to be expected that booksellers in Australia will continue to order English editions, if American editions are allowed to be imported for sale at half the price of the English editions. It is, doubtless, the fact that these American reprints have been introduced into Australia and advertised in the Australian papers; but it does not follow that this should continue. (115)

However, Robertson disagreed with Howitt's assertion that fighting the American literary pirates was pointless, and he argued that Australian Customs officials were ready "to enforce the Copyright law." Moreover, Robertson reported that a leading Melbourne bookseller, his brother, had "advocated the rights of English publishers" in a published rebuttal to an editorial in a Melbourne newspaper that supported the sale of American reprints in the Australasian colonies.

William Robertson's letter in *The Athenaeum* attempted to propagate the contagious fear of book piracy, to affirm George Robertson's support of the British book trade, unlike other Australian booksellers, and to suggest that there was a market in the Australasian colonies for inexpensive literature. William Robertson's letter not only portrayed his brother as the Australasian defender of British copyright, but also warned the British book trade not to ignore the colonial market: "if no remedy can be applied, and no law can prohibit, then will the Colonial bookseller, however reluctant, be forced to go into the sale of American reprints, and thus narrow his sale of English books" (116). By drawing upon the British and colonial fear of the American reprint industry, William Robertson sought to deterritorialize and reterritorialize the discourse of book piracy in order to develop the network of book production and distribution between Britain and the Australasian colonies. Certainly, both George Robertson and Edward Petherick successfully lobbied British publishers to create inexpensive colonial editions for Australia.[5]

In the 3 February 1855 issue of *The Athenaeum*, William Howitt responded to William Robertson's letter: "It would be a very false security into which authors and publishers here would be lulled, if they received the impression which Mr. Robertson's letter is calculated to convey" (148). Howitt implied that George Robertson was the Melbourne bookseller who sold unauthorized imprints:

> But what would Mr. Robertson say if, I were to show him that this very bookseller, in common with his brother booksellers, was himself at the very same time breaking the law which he defended, by the sale of such reprints?

> Yet such was the fact. If then the very advocates of the law daily infringe it,—if the very champion of it against the newspaper press was, at the identical moment of his championship, selling such reprints,—how can we expect the Custom-House officers to be more consistent or rigorous?

Howitt argued that there was a large and growing population in Melbourne "who will read, and who will have their reading cheap." Howitt's letter did not damage William Robertson's argument; in fact, it confirmed that there was an influx of cheap American reprints into the colonial market that Australian readers were happy to purchase. Nonetheless, Howitt disagreed with Robertson's opinion that the Australian booksellers and Customs officials could stop the flow of pirated books into the colonies. Howitt believed that the Imperial Copyright Act was ineffective; Australian bookstores would persist in stocking unauthorized, cheap reprints of British books. Regardless, William Robertson argued that Australians were willing to abide by the copyright law and stop the reprints, if the British trade was willing to meet their demand for a regular supply of inexpensive literature.

In the 24 February 1855 issue, *The Athenaeum* published a sequence of letters between George Robertson and the Collector of Customs for the colony of Victoria. William Robertson submitted the correspondence to the British periodical as further proof that vigilance could stem the tide of foreign reprints of copyrighted works: "The success which has attended the efforts made, both at Sydney and at Melbourne, to diminish and stop the evil complained of, will encourage the holders of copyright, and others having an interest in the subject, to carry out similar efforts in all our Colonies, either individually or in an organized capacity" ("Copy" 234). In the first letter, dated 27 April 1854, Robertson wrote to the Melbourne-based Collector of

Customs "that American and German reprints of English copyright books are allowed to pass the Customs, and so obtain circulation in the Colony, although strictly prohibited by the Copyright law" (234). In a response dated 8 June 1854, a Customs official, Hugh C. E. Childers, noted that instructions had been issued to

> the sub-collectors and landing surveyors, requiring them to cause packages declared or suspected to contain books imported from foreign ports to be examined, with a view to carry out the provisions of the several Acts relating to Copyright. But it would be impracticable, without a considerable increase to the staff of this department, to institute the same search for prohibited articles of this character which is customary at ports in the United Kingdom. (234)

Childers promised to inform his officials of the law but argued that it was impractical to think that the existing Customs agents could entirely prevent the influx of unauthorized reprints. As a result, this series of letters left British readers with the impression that book piracy in the Australasian colonies was a serious and growing problem that could not be entirely stopped by Customs, yet the British book trade had a strong advocate in George Robertson.

However, the dire warning in *The Athenaeum* of an American invasion of the Australasian market did not substantially increase the flow of books from England to the colonies. In the late 1850s, colonial booksellers stopped relying on British publishers' irregular shipments to the colonies, and they established London buying offices to buy books directly from British publishers. In 1857, George Robertson opened a London office, run by his brother William, that he hoped would facilitate the export of books to the Australasian colonies. Between 1860 and 1880, Robertson also entered into business arrangements with various London firms in order to publish colonial editions for the Australasian market; as part of these arrangements, Robertson offered to safeguard British copyright and protect against copyright infringement in the Australasian colonies. In a letter dated 15 March 1876, Edward Petherick wrote to George Bentley that "Mr. Robertson has always defended the right of British publishers, frequently putting a stop to reprints in the local newspapers. I may add that he holds power of attorney for this purpose from some publishers—Notwithstanding the strong desire we have for cheap issues we like to get them legitimately" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU 49, 15 Mar. 1876). Bentley accused Robertson of reprinting Annie Edwards' novel, *Leah: A Woman of Fashion* (1875), but Petherick insisted his employer would not resort to piracy. He even offered to send Bentley copies of Robertson's published correspondence in *The Athenaeum* "addressed to the colonial govt against the violation of copyright by the introd[uction] at that time of cheap American and Continental reprints." Bentley's accusation came during negotiations to permit Robertson to use the Bentley imprint and distribute Bentley's books in the colonies. Evidently, Bentley accepted Petherick's defence of Robertson, as less than a month later the British publisher agreed to work with the Melbourne firm (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU 49, 8 Apr. 1876).[6]

Through his arrangement with Bentley, Robertson also offered to "protect" the British firm's literary interests in the colonies against the "breaches of British copyright by pirate American publishers" (Holroyd 27). In a letter dated 15 March 1876, Petherick argued that Robertson had "power of attorney" for some of his British partners, which he used to protect their interests in the colonies to the full extent of the law (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU 49). This claim was put to the test when, in a letter dated 12 July 1880, Petherick wrote to George Bentley that one of Robertson's travellers had discovered American reprints of Bentley publications, including a number of Mrs. Henry Wood's novels, in a Christchurch, New Zealand bookshop (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU 49). Petherick also forwarded to Bentley Robertson's 15 May 1880 letter to the Collector of Customs in Christchurch; the letter protested the sale of New York publisher George Munro's Sea Side Library in Richard Shannon's bookshop, and outlined the actions Robertson had taken on Bentley's behalf:

> I should say that Shannon has at least three hundred copies on the shelf in his shop .... I need scarcely tell you that this is causing immense injury to honest traders as well as to publishers in England, who at considerable cost have secured the right of exclusive sale for their Editions in British Dominions, and whose right and interest in common with the Booksellers of New Zealand I respectfully ask you to protect by seizing the works complained of, or by taking other legal measures to prevent the said Richard Shannon, or any other person, from further infringing the law in this particular. (*Richard Bentley and Sons Archive* Reel IU 49)

Robertson acted on Bentley's behalf to stop the sale of the pirated imprints and, on 16 July 1880, Richard Bentley responded to Petherick's initial letter by agreeing that Robertson would have to act for the British firm as "whatever action is necessary will have to be taken on the spot" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archive* Reel 41, Vol. 85, p 200). In a second letter, also dated 16 July, Richard Bentley asked if any other British firm had "been similarly infringed," and again asked, "[i]s not the remedy rather for Mr. Robertson by proxy of the owner of the Copyright infringed to bring the case before a magistrate or police officer?" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archive* Reel 42, Vol. 87, p 204).

It was in Robertson's best interests to protect British copyright as he had exclusive agreements with British publishers, like Bentley, to distribute their editions in the Australasian colonies. Therefore, Robertson's business would be undermined if American reprints were allowed free rein in the colonies. Moreover, Bentley had an agreement with Robertson to reprint up to 50,000 copies of Mrs. Wood's novels for the Australasian market (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU 49, Petherick, 12 Sept. 1873). Consequently, once Robertson had agreements with British publishers to produce and distribute their books in the Australasian colonies, there existed a "[m]utual commitment" between the British and Australian firms to protect the colonial market from interlopers (Johanson 143).

Petherick wrote to Bentley in reply to the British publisher's query regarding the status of the New Zealand piracy case that "I believe that the only course is to seize the books just in the same manner as it would be done in this country. No one can legally sell them, and anyone offering them for sale in New Zealand or any British Colony—Canada excepted—is liable to the same penalties as any London or Provincial bookseller" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU 49, 17 July 1880). Canada could legally sell reprints because it had under the 1847 Foreign Reprints Act enacted legislation that allowed for the legal importation of reprints. Petherick complained about the lack of international copyright and argued that piracy damaged both the Australian and British book trades. He suggested that the only course of action was for the trades to work together to produce legitimate inexpensive editions for the colonies:

> For my part, I think the only cure for the present evil … is in cheaper books. The so-called "Pirates" must be met upon their own ground. What is there to forbid a 2/- or 2/6 edition of … any other popular work issued in heavy size and in readable type? The cheap American issues complained of are neither handy nor in readable type …. Some years ago I suggested to you a 2/ edition of Mrs. Wood's novels together with other volumes of your Favourite Library. If I remember exactly, your idea was that it paid better to sell one copy of a book at 6/ than … (ten copies) at a lower price … I think we are too apt to judge the mass of novels by the few good ones such as [Mrs. Wood's] East Lynne … which are always in demand. Who requires the second and third rate novel after the first issue? It is forgotten. By this time the 2/ edition is issued other good novels are out so we find that people ask for and get the latest. I have been thinking whether it would suit you to sell us stereoplates of the [current] best and most sellable (or valuable) of your novels, to issue cheap editions at once in the Colonies.

Petherick proposed to issue simultaneously an inexpensive colonial edition in conjunction with the initial publication of the Bentley edition. Previously, Petherick and Robertson had negotiated for inexpensive editions of favourite books by popular authors like Mrs. Henry Wood. However, neither Bentley nor Robertson had the ambition to develop a colonial series of new books.[7] Petherick's plan to release colonial editions of new British novels would have to wait until he started his own firm in 1887.[8]

Throughout the nineteenth century, British North American readers had access to American "cheap pirated reprints of British books" (Parker, *Beginnings* 94). While John Murray attempted to compete against the pirates with his Colonial Library, British publishers could not match American prices; consequently, the British North American market was largely closed to British publishers. The proximity of British

North America to the United States meant any attempt on the colonial book trade's part to mount an effective campaign for inexpensive colonial editions of popular British books failed before it even started because "aggressive [American] publishers turned out cheap pirated reprints of British books and periodicals, and these found thousands of ready buyers north of the border" (94). However, Australasia's distance from the United States insulated the Antipodes from the onslaught of illegal reprints circulating in British North America and other British colonies in the mid nineteenth century. While distance protected the Australasian book trade from book piracy, distance also left the colonial book trade without a regular supply of books to meet the growing demands of book-starved colonials. In the mid nineteenth century, Australasian booksellers complained that when British publishers did irregularly dispatch consignments of books to the colonies, the shipments were made up of "excess stock" of dubious quality (Kirsop, *Books* 8-9). Distance left British publishers unsure of and uninterested in the exact conditions of the Australian book trade. George and William Robertson capitalized on both the British book trade's lack of knowledge regarding the Australasian book market and their fear of book piracy; in their letters in the *Athenaeum*, they made it seem as though the British book trade was about to lose another colonial market to the pirates, while simultaneously informing British publishers about the "booming" and book-starved colonial market. As a result, their campaign for British publishers to increase shipments and to produce inexpensive colonial editions for the Australasian market was somewhat successful. While British publishers did not start producing editions for the colonial market until the 1860s and the irregularity of their shipments to the Australasian colonies only moderately improved, the British book trade was willing to supply books for a "booming" Australasian market when Australian booksellers and distributors, such as George Robertson, opened London offices in the late 1850s.

Once British and Australian firms began to cooperate in order to distribute British publications in Australasia and to produce books especially for the colonial market, they needed to continue collaborating in order to protect their share of the Australasian book trade. Therefore, when Robertson's traveller found American reprints of Bentley publications in New Zealand, Robertson had to protest the infringement of the British publisher's copyright as his arrangement with Bentley was at risk—as were his profits from the sale of the Bentley imprints in the Australasian market—if American reprinters gained a foothold in the colonial market. In 1880, the piracy of Bentley publications strengthened the bond between the colonial and British firms, as distance meant Bentley had to rely on his colonial counterpart to defend and protect his copyright.

Book Piracy, Imperial Copyright Law, and the Canadian Book Trade

The 1842 Imperial Copyright Act impeded the flow of illegal reprints into British North America, but it did not completely stop colonial readers who could not afford expensive British books from getting "American reprints one way or another" (Parker, *Beginnings* 109). British publishers, except for John Murray, were generally uninterested in issuing "competitive cheap editions for colonial circulation" because of British North America's proximity to the United States: British publishers believed that colonial editions would fail to compete with the cheaper American reprints of

British publications. The failure of John Murray's Colonial Library bore out British publishers' suspicions that the small Canadian market was largely closed to them and that the Imperial Copyright Act had done little to stop the flow of American imprints into British North America. However, colonial readers and booksellers were threatened with a possible loss of their cheap editions if the British and colonial governments improved their capacity to detect American reprints crossing the Canadian border. Colonial politicians, booksellers, and the public lobbied the British government to repeal the Imperial Copyright Act. In 1846, the British government announced it would implement free trade policies, and this change in policy opened the way for an amendment of the 1842 Act. The 1847 Foreign Reprints Act allowed for the legal circulation of American reprints only in those British colonies that enacted legislation to administer a duty, "which would then be paid to the copyright owner" (115). Canadian governments quickly took advantage of the Foreign Reprints Act: "In 1848 the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island Foreign Reprints acts came into force, Nova Scotia's in 1849, and Newfoundland's in 1850." In 1851, the British government accepted the Province of Canada's Copyright Act, and under the provisions of the Foreign Reprints Act "[a]n excise duty, not exceeding 20 per cent, was to be charged on the import of books from the owners" (Feather 170).

However, the Foreign Reprints Act was a failure in that "no serious attempt was made to enforce it. British publishers received almost nothing, and cheap American reprints of British books were on sale throughout the British territories in North America" (Feather 170). Moreover, the British House of Lords decided in 1868

> that where the 1842 Act had been suspended by an Order-in-Council under the 1847 Foreign Reprints Act, the copyright acquired by publication in that territory did not extend to the rest of the Empire … the effect of all of this was [that] American reprints of British books could be sold in Canada, and that British publishers could not even protect themselves by authorizing Canadian reprints of their own because that could undermine their rights elsewhere in the Empire. (170-71)

British North Americans "had developed the appetite for reading" but wanted inexpensive editions of British books (Parker, *Beginnings* 94). British publications were priced "too expensively for the general class of readers" in the colonies. Thus, the colonial reader and bookseller benefited from the Foreign Reprints Act and from the influx of inexpensive American books. Still, Canadian authors, publishers, and printers had difficulty surviving in a market where they could not easily compete against the cheaper American imprints. Until the late 1860s, little domestic publishing or printing took place in Canada.[9] Colonial writers such as Susanna Moodie and Thomas Chandler Haliburton followed a similar pattern of first writing for local newspapers and periodicals but eventually needing to look beyond Canada for wide-scale publication (56). The structure for large-scale publishing and production did not exist in Canada until after Confederation, and even then a writer like William Kirby struggled throughout the 1870s and 1880s to find a Canadian, American, or British firm willing to publish his novel.

William Kirby wrote the novel *The Chien d'Or: A Legend of Quebec* or *The Golden Dog* (1877) while living in Niagara-on-the-Lake, where he was the editor of *The Niagara Mail*. The novel was a historical romance set in eighteenth-century Quebec, and Kirby had difficulty getting the novel published because of both its 678-

page length and subject matter. Between January 1873 and May 1876, Kirby received a series of rejection letters from American and British publishing firms, who all initially declined Kirby's manuscript because "unfortunately works relating to Canada meet with such an unfavourable reception" (William Kirby Collection F1076, MS 542, A6 I Trubner 5 May 1873).

In a letter dated 8 July 1873, the Toronto firm of Adam, Stevenson, and Company offered to publish *The Chien d'Or*, which " Professor Goldwyn Smith and Mr. A[dam] have been reading" (William Kirby Collection F1076, MS 542, A6 I). However, the firm delayed the Canadian publication of the novel. Partners Graeme Mercer Adam and John Horace Stevenson believed that they needed to publish the novel jointly with a British house in order both to limit the Canadian firm's risk and to protect Kirby's copyright in Canada and in the rest of the British Empire.[10] Despite Adam and Stevenson's actions to secure a British publisher for Kirby's novel, the manuscript did not receive a favourable reception in England. In a letter dated 25 May 1875, Adam wrote to Kirby that his agent had presented *The Chien d'Or* to English publishers without success (William Kirby Collection F 1076, MS 542, A6 1). Furthermore, Adam and Stevenson's firm "was caught by the 1873 depression and went bankrupt in 1874" (Parker, *Beginnings* 177), and the firm's demise left Kirby's novel without any publisher. Still, Adam believed *The Chien d'Or* deserved to be published and attempted to find either a Canadian or American firm that would accept the novel. In a letter dated 9 December 1874, William Withrow advised Kirby that Adam had informed him "that perhaps [Adam] … and [Canadian publisher George Maclean] Rose might go on with it jointly. He seems to appreciate its value and he [is] desirous to bring it out. I think you better let him try" (William Kirby Collection F1076, MS 542, A6 II).[11] In a letter dated 12 July 1875, Adam wrote to Kirby that Rose had told him that "[t]he cost would be $1800.00 for an Edition of 2500, printing & binding" (William Kirby Collection F1076, MS 542, A6 II). Nevertheless, Rose added that his firm would not take such a risk "while trade is so paralysed" and asked Kirby to pay the production costs, if he wanted the novel published. Finally, in 1876 the American firm of Lovell, Adam, Wesson, and Company agreed to publish *The Chien d'Or*. However, the company's subsequent bankruptcy shortly after the publication of Kirby's novel would result in the stereotype plates of *The Chien d'Or* being sold as part of Lovell, Adam, Wesson, and Company's bankruptcy proceedings to an American reprinter. Still, before I examine the publication of *The Chien d'Or* by Lovell, Adam, Wesson, and Company, it is important to analyze the connection between the New York firm and Canadian publisher John Lovell.

Enterprising publishers like John Lovell challenged the American domination of the Canadian market in the 1870s by promoting a local reprint industry. A Montreal publisher, Lovell wanted to develop a reprint industry "either by copying the American pirates or by arranging contracts with British authors and publishers" (Parker, *Beginnings* 169).[12] In 1872, Lovell built a printing plant at Rouse's Point, New York, and, his son, John W. Lovell was responsible for the day-to-day operations of the factory. Printing plates were made in Montreal and then shipped to Rouse's Point, which was "about fifty miles south of Montreal" (172). The unbound sheets would then be sent back to Canada for binding and eventual sale—with John

Lovell paying the Foreign Reprints tariff: "The duty was far less than the British copyright owners would have received had they contracted for a Canadian edition" (Parker, "English-Canadian Publishers" 152). Lovell planned to expand his business into the United States eventually, but his initial focus was simply aimed at demonstrating the injustice of the Foreign Reprints Act.

While John Lovell never officially expanded his firm to include selling his publications in the United States, he provided the initial financial backing for his son's New York reprint firm, Lovell, Adam, and Company. Moreover, the Montreal-based John Lovell Printing and Publishing Company continued to have a close business relationship with his son's reprint companies throughout the 1870s and 1880s (Stern 262).[13] John W. Lovell was a notorious New York reprint publisher: "a business magnate, a 'Svengali' in commerce, who was accused from time to time of piracy and sharp practice" (260). In 1876, John W. Lovell started with friend Graeme Mercer Adam the New York publishing firm of Lovell, Adam, and Company, and the subsequent year Francis Wesson joined the firm, which was renamed Lovell, Adam, Wesson, and Company: "publishers of the Lake Champlain Press Series and re-issuers of English and foreign classics, with branches in Montreal and Rouses Point, and offices at 764 Broadway" (262). The firm specialized in inexpensive authorized and unauthorized editions of British books for the American market; the books were produced at the Rouse's Point printing facilities.

In a letter dated 5 October 1875, Adam suggested that John W. Lovell's firm might publish Kirby's novel, but he was waiting for news from "Rouse's Point with reference to your project & hope to get away to see [John] W. Lovell at an early day"

(William Kirby Collection F1076, MS 542, A6 II). After an eight-month delay, Adam wrote to Kirby that he had submitted the manuscript to "a Montreal Gentleman of some literary competence who is to satisfy Mr. L[ovell] of the character of the work & who will also put the MS in some better shape than it now is in" (William Kirby Collection F1076, MS 542, A6 II 24 May 1876). Still, Adam cautioned Kirby that the "Montreal Gentleman," possibly Lovell's father, had to agree to the publication of the novel.[14] Finally, on 12 July 1876, John Lovell wrote to Kirby to tell him the book had been favourably received and would be printed at Rouse's Point.

Lovell, Adam, Wesson, and Company published the novel in January 1877, and Adam warned Kirby that "[n]ow comes the crisis—How will it sell, & how vigorously & successfully can it be pushed" (William Kirby Collection F1076, MS 542, A6 II Adam 29 Jan. 1877). George Parker argues that Kirby's novel initially had good enough sales "to have done moderately well," and cites a letter, dated 1 April 1877, to Kirby from Robert Lovell, John W. Lovell's brother (*Beginnings* 191, 291). However, while Robert Lovell mentioned in the letter "small orders in Ontario," he also stated that the Dawson Brothers had sold only "50 copies in all so that I am afraid that your Quebec friends over-estimate the sale it is having there" (William Kirby Collection F1076, MS 542, A6 II 1 Apr. 1877). The Dawson Brothers were a Montreal publishing and bookselling firm that supplied the book trades in Quebec and the Maritimes; Robert Lovell's letter suggested the firm had not sold as many books in Quebec as Kirby had anticipated. Consequently, I do not think this letter supports Parker's argument that the novel was selling well, and in fact the letter strongly implies initially the novel had meagre sales. Regardless, the actual crisis that occurred was that Kirby's novel had neither American nor Canadian copyright.

Kirby lost control of the novel's printing plates, which were owned by Lovell, Adam, Wesson, and Company, when the firm failed in November 1877: "In the United States the work was protected inasmuch as the proprietor of the plates could control its distribution in both countries" (Parker, *Beginnings* 191). Under the terms of the Canadian Copyright Act of 1875, "the work of a person domiciled in Canada had to be registered here within a month of its publication in the United States," yet no one had registered *The Chien d'Or*.[15] The Canadian Department of Agriculture later confirmed, on 10 March 1880, that Kirby's novel had not been copyrighted in Canada (William Kirby Collection F1076, MS 542, A6 II). Meanwhile, John Lovell wrote to Kirby, on 2 April 1878, belatedly informing him that his son's firm was bankrupt and that Kirby's plates had fallen "into the hands of the creditors. They are now offered for sale, and it is possible the holder would take $100 cash for them. I write to know if you would like to become the purchaser, even up to $200, if that amount be demanded. Should they fall into the hands of a Canadian you will, I believe, lose all right of royalty" (William Kirby Collection F1076 MS 542 A6 II). In a letter dated one week later, Withrow advised his friend both to secure the plates as the price mentioned was "very cheap," and to file a claim against the New York firm (William Kirby Collection F1076, MS 542, A6 II).

After receiving John Lovell's letter about his son's bankruptcy, Kirby had only a matter of days in April 1878 to make arrangements to buy his novel's printing plates. On 11 April 1878, John W. Lovell responded to Kirby's inquiry of 6 April about the stereotype plates by writing that one of the firm's creditors, Wesson's father, had already sold the plates to Richard Worthington (William Kirby Collection F1076, MS 542, A6 II). Lovell informed Kirby that Worthington was a well known New York reprint publisher of British and colonial books, and "[t]his publisher speaks of selling them to some one in Canada … or if he publishes the book himself he will not pay any royalty nor will the parties he sells to" (William Kirby Collection F1076, MS 542, A6 II 11 Apr. 1878).[16] Still, because he still thought that "the book will have a good sale," Lovell argued that Kirby should try to buy the plates from the American reprinter. However, Kirby was unable to buy the plates from Worthington, who quickly reissued the novel with a new title page in 1878, and later in 1884 either sold or lent the printing plates to John W. Lovell so Lovell could reissue the novel as part of his Library series.

John W. Lovell used Worthington's plates to produce a cheap edition under his new company's imprint, John W. Lovell Company (Parker, *Beginnings* 191). In 1884, Graeme Mercer Adam recommended to Kirby that an inexpensive edition of *The Chien d'Or* be issued as part of a proposed Canadian Library (William Kirby Collection F1076, MS 542, A6 II Adams 21 Nov. 1884).[17] However, Adam's continuing financial difficulties prevented the publication of the series. Still, Adam believed that an inexpensive edition of Kirby's novel was warranted, and he asked Lovell to reprint the novel. Lovell agreed, though he later wrote to Kirby that he would only pay him if the book made a profit (William Kirby Collection F1076, MS 542, A6 II Lovell 22 Nov. 1884). Moreover, he reminded Kirby that having the plates made had cost him over a $1,000—an inflated figure considering he had previously told Kirby that the plates production costs had been $750—and that he had never seen any profit from the initial issue of *The Chien d'Or* (William Kirby Collection F1076, MS 542, A6 II 11 Apr. 1878).[18]

Kirby received no remuneration from the reprints issued by Worthington, Lovell, and other unauthorized persons.[19] However, in a letter dated 7 May 1885, Withrow congratulated Kirby on being pirated by Lovell: "It is only a book that is worth stealing that is so stolen" (William Kirby Collection F1076, MS 542, A6 II). Withrow contended that the unauthorized publication of Kirby's novel might not increase Kirby's monetary worth, but it would make his novel, and him, well known. Other Victorian authors also recognized that increased fame was a possible benefit of having a book pirated: the inexpensive issue was more widely read and might lead to increased sales of authorized editions of future works.[20] Still, in a letter to Richard Worthington dated 12 April 1880, Kirby argued that the fundamental problem with pirated editions was a loss of authorial control of the text: "It is useless for me to find fault with you for publishing my book nor can I prevent it .... What I want to say is that if you are going to continue the issue of it, I should like it for my own sake to be corrected. The work was got out ... in a hurry and was stereotyped without being revised and contains many ... errors" (William Kirby Collection F1076, MS 542, A6 II).[21] Moreover, the existence of pirated editions of *The Chien d'Or* made publishers leery of printing a new authorized version, as the more expensive publication would have to compete with the cheaper Lovell and Worthington imprints. In a letter dated 1 June 1882, the Dawson Brothers wrote to Kirby that his book "has been thoroughly mismanaged" (William Kirby Collection F1076, MS 542, A6 II). Consequently, unless Kirby could secure the plates, Dawson would not consider taking a risk on the publication of a new edition of *The Chien d'Or*. Also, Alexander Macmillan politely refused to publish the book: "Your publication in Canada & in the States has blurred these markets for us" (William Kirby Collection F1076, MS 542, A6 II 16 Apr. 1885). The North American market was saturated with the inexpensive editions of *The Chien d'Or*. Piracy may have introduced Kirby to a larger audience, but weak and ineffectual copyright laws, as well as publisher misfortune and mismanagement, left him without control of his own novel.

In a letter dated 29 October 1887, Samuel Dawson lamented to William Kirby "the absence of international copyright. The best books are stolen" and the Canadian industry injured by the pirates (William Kirby Collection F1076, MS 542, A6 II). While the Canadian reprinters managed to survive, and sometimes thrive, others in the Canadian book trade, especially authors, suffered. Moreover, the reprinters were viewed by Americans as threatening their industry and their right to export to Canada; consequently, editorials in the American newspapers and periodicals in the 1870s described a "Canadian Invasion," and publishers such as J. W. Harper raised the possibility of retaliation (Parker, *Beginnings* 215). In addition, British publishers often refused to sell to Canadian firms the rights to colonial editions because they did not want to antagonize the American firms "by agreeing to Canadian reprints that would undoubtedly circulate (illegally) in the United States and probably find their way into the United Kingdom" (171). Also, British authors declined to authorize Canadian reprints for fear that the Canadian editions would enter the American market. In a letter to Hunter Rose dated 13 July 1872, Wilkie Collins reported "[a]s to your new [proposed] copyright act, we are furious about it here," and, in another letter dated 4 February 1875 and sent after the compromise Canadian Copyright Act was reached, he stated that he would be still "compelled to abandon my Canadian rights" if they threatened the American sale of his novels (Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists MS CO171, Box 7, Folder 16).[22] Furthermore, the British government sought legal opinions in 1872 on both John Lovell's plan to ship unbound sheets from the Rouse's Point factory back into Canada, and the proposed revisions to the Canadian Copyright Act. While Lovell's actions were found to neither infringe on nor contravene the existing copyright laws, the legal opinion of the revised 1872 Canadian Copyright Act stated that it would negatively affect the British book trade: the Act would have reduced the existing twenty percent duty to twelve-and-a-half percent and licensed Canadian publishers to reprint all British copyright works (Papers Relating to Colonial Copyright, Imperial Blue Book, Box 20, 287, 1872, p 75). Accordingly, the law failed to receive Royal assent: "Canadians discovered that under the British Colonial Laws Validity Act (1865), the British government could withhold royal assent of colonial legislation that was repugnant or contradictory to prior imperial laws" (Parker, "English Canadian Publishers" 152). Even when a compromise Copyright Act was given royal assent in 1875, the new act neither stopped the flourishing American and Candian reprint trades, nor prevented the "best [Candian] books [being] … stolen."

Between 1870 and 1890, when the reprinting industry in Canada and the United States expanded, various individuals and groups increasingly demanded the Canadian, American, and British governments negotiate an international copyright treaty that would replace the Foreign Reprints Act and make book piracy illegal. However, Adams wrote to Kirby that he believed Canadians were "indifferent to these [copyright] questions" (William Kirby Collection F1076, MS 542, A6 II 21 Oct. 1884). While opinions varied widely on the potential effect of an international copyright law on the Canadian book trade, the flurry of letters and articles in Canadian journals suggested the trade was not "indifferent" to the issue of copyright. For example, in a letter published in the November 1884 issue of *Books and Notions: Organ of The Book, Stationery and Fancy Goods Trades of Canada,* George Maclean Rose agreed with George Mercer Adam's "remarks in your last issue" that the existing copyright laws were unfair to the colonial book trade:

> After many years experience in the publishing business, I have come to the conclusion that it is almost useless to attempt building up a large and profitable publishing trade in our country, unless our government takes the matter of copyright in hand, and insists that Great Britain treat us as part of the Empire.
>
> As the British Copyright Act is at present understood and worked it is all one sided, that is, it gives the United States author and publisher entire possession of our markets. Such "dog-in-the-manger" authors as "Mark Twain" can copyright their works in Britain, and refuse us the privilege of republication, even when fair price is offered for the right .... It is apparently a sad thing to be "a Colonist," when a foreign author or publisher is permitted by an over dose of British generousity to thus lord it over us. (64-65)

Rose expressed a sentiment, felt by a number of Canadian publishers, that the Foreign Reprints Act discriminated against the colonial book trade. Rose called for a renewed Imperial Copyright Act and a repeal of the Foreign Reprints Act of 1847, and he advocated for a protectionist policy that gave precedence to British and colonial literary products in the British and colonial markets. Also, he helped organize "the first Canadian Publishers' Association, which complained of the 'injustice' of an imperial copyright that allowed the American publisher 'privileges' in Canada that were not available to the Canadian publisher" (Parker, "English-Canadian Publishers" 153).

The editorialist writing in the September 1880 issue of Goldwyn Smith's *The Bystander* agreed with Rose that "Canada suffers with regard to the Copyright Question by the inability of the English trade to recognize her position in a country adjoining the United States and exposed to American competition, while her hands are tied by the English law" ("Copyright Question" 518).[23] Nevertheless, the editorial welcomed free trade and also noted that change was inevitable in the North American book trades, particularly since "the book question" or international copyright was perpetually before Congress in the United States: "Unquestionably, the revolution will be great: … we may be sure it will prove beneficent; it is the intellectual complement of political democracy: the invention of printing was the first great step, the cheap library is the second."

Correspondence among the British Colonial Office, the British Board of Trade, and the government of Canada indicated that British publishers and authors also advocated the repeal of the Foreign Reprints Act and demanded international protection of British copyrighted works. In a letter dated March 1870, London publishers Thomas Longman and John Murray suggested that the British government needed to secure the colonial markets for the British book trade:

> The injury inflicted upon British authors and other proprietors of literary copyright works by that Act have been excessive. Not only all the North American Colonies, but the Cape of Good Hope, Jamaica, and others, in all

> amounting to 19, have availed themselves of the Act of 1847, and obtained Orders in Council for the importation of foreign reprints into all those Colonies. These foreign reprints have been made in the United States, and the British Colonies in question have been flooded with them, to the serious damage of British authors and publishers, and the various trades. (Imperial Blue Book Box 20, 287, 1872, p 46).

The British book trade was not necessarily protectionist; Longman and Murray wanted the British government—still a proponent of free trade—to promote an international copyright agreement. However, they also wanted the British government to repeal the 1847 Foreign Reprints Act, and re-enact the 1842 Imperial Copyright Act, until such time as the United States agreed to an international copyright treaty.

Book Piracy, International Copyright Law, and the American Book Trade

When the International Literary Congress met in Vienna in 1881, members from England and other European countries, as well as observers from the United States, agreed that "the most formidable obstacles in the way of a practical [copyright] result were the conflicting views and antagonistic interests of British and American publishers" ("Copyright Problem" 2). Even though Britain lost its productive advantage towards the end of the nineteenth century, it was committed "to economic liberalism … [yet] Germany and the United States which … [were] becoming more advanced in production remain[ed] protectionist rather than embracing free trade" (O'Brien and Williams 89-90). Traditionally, the American book trade was opposed to extending domestic copyright to foreign nationals; in particular, the manufacturing sector argued that extending copyright would destroy the local print, paper, and ink-making industries (Feather 156). Nevertheless, the fear of piracy made typically protectionist industries, like the German and American book trades, more receptive to the development of international copyright law. For example, the German delegation at the Congress supported an international copyright treaty as "they [currently] suffered on account of the unauthorized reproduction of German books in the United States" ("The Copyright Problem" 2). Also, the article reported that "[h]appily, public opinion in America now showed a marked improvement" towards the need for the United States to take part in an international copyright convention. One reason for this "marked improvement" was the mounting anxiety of the American book trade over the increasing flow of unauthorized Canadian editions into the United States.[24] American publishers "who for a century have grown rich on English literature, no sooner found that the Canadian reprints of their copyright books began to appear in the Western States than they were horror-stricken at the enormity of Canadian wickedness" ("Canadian Wickedness" 8).

In the 1870s and 1880s a number of anti-Canadian articles were published in the American book trade periodical *The Publishers' Weekly* that denounced the Canadian reprint industry. For example, American publisher George Putnam argued in the 22 March 1879 issue of *The Publisher's Weekly* that

> A very considerable business in cheap reprints has also sprung up in Toronto, from which point are circulated throughout the Western States cheap editions of English works for the "advance sheets" and "American market" of which Eastern publishers have paid liberal prices. Some enterprising Canadian dealers have also taken advantage of the present confusion between the United States postal and customs regulations to build up a trade by supplying through the mails reprints of American copyright works, in editions which, being flimsily printed, and free of charge for copyright, can be sold at very moderate prices. (352)

According to Putnam, "enterprising Canadian dealers" were sending reprints to American customers through the mail. In 1874, twenty-two countries, including Canada and the United States, signed the Treaty of Berne that established the Universal Postal Union (UPU)—the second oldest international organization—and created a single postal territory that fixed international postal rates (http://www.upu.int/about_us/en/glance. html).[25] The United States and Canada ratified the treaty in 1878, and, under the terms of the UPU, books mailed across the US-Canada border could be taxed but "could not be prohibited" ("Canadian Book Trade" 882-83).[26] The American book trade was uncertain about the ratification of the UPU; letters in *The Publishers' Weekly* indicated some within the trade thought the law would end the "smuggling through the mails" of books, while others thought it would have little effect in stopping the Canadian pirates ("Monopoly" 512). The United States imposed a twenty-five percent duty on imported books, but Canadian booksellers and publishers circumvented this duty, before and after the UPU, by sending books to the United States through the mail service. While the United States government levied duties on parcels in 1879, the government found the suppression of book imports difficult. As a result, Putnam and others in the American book trade believed that their market was being permeated with Canadian reprints and that they were the aggrieved victims of book piracy.

Both the threat of Canadian imprints on the American market and the problem of copyright were also issues repeatedly discussed in Macmillan's New York manager George E. Brett's correspondence. In 1869, Brett established a New York branch of the British publishing firm Macmillan (Madison 261). In a letter in 1885 to Frederick Macmillan, Brett wrote about the British office shipping a new work recently published in England directly to Canada in order to avoid paying "the New York Duties and Charges" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 12, p 118a). However, he observed that the problem with Macmillan supplying the Canadian market "is that the book will be reprinted in Canada in that 10% understanding which, it is understood, neither Publisher nor Author ever gets. In the meantime our object must be to render a Reprint needless." While some Canadian publishers circumvented the law by printing books in the United States, shipping them back to Canada to be bound, and paying the Foreign Reprints tariff, other Canadian publishers flouted copyright law and issued unauthorized editions of British books within Canada (Parker, *Beginnings* 170). Brett was concerned that a Canadian publisher might reissue Macmillan's publications and promise to pay a tariff that Brett noted rarely reached the owners of copyright. His solution to the problem was to make the pirating of Macmillan publications a futile endeavour. Consequently, Brett sought to secure Canadian and Imperial Copyright on works published by Macmillan. For example, he registered two works by Tennyson in 1885 with the help of the Dawson Brothers in Canada (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 12, p 168a). Brett made use of the 1875 Canadian Copyright Act, which "extended Canadian copyright protection to works registered, printed, and published in Canada, even though the plates could be made elsewhere" (Parker, *Beginnings* 185). He reported to Frederick Macmillan that he had secured the help of the Dawson Brothers and planned to warn the "Canadian trade that we [Macmillan] shall take whatever steps are necessary to protect our interests" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 2, Vol. 12, p 167).

Despite Brett's actions to secure Canadian copyright of Macmillan's publications, existing copyright laws did not entirely protect the firm's works. In a letter dated 23 June 1888, Brett wrote to Frederick Macmillan that "Canadians have a notion of not being left out in the cold as regards cheap literature" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 4, Vol. 14, p 53). His comment came in reference to the reprinting of one of their publications, W. E. Norris' *Chris* (1888), by the National Publishing Company of Toronto. Brett could not believe that the Toronto firm could make a profit, considering the cost of producing the book, if they sold it for only thirty cents: "one does not quite see how they can manufacture and sell 30 cent books at a profit unless indeed they can print without regard to copyright."[27]

In its 12 April 1879 issue, *The Publishers' Weekly* noted in an article entitled "The Canadian Incursion" that the Canadian trade was "engaged in making the most of their opportunity in the United States market" (439). According to the journal, Canadian publishers and printers "put themselves outside the pale of the courtesy of the trade," which was the informal practice of paying token amounts to reprint books. Moreover, the article warned that "whatever is to be said of ordinary 'cut-throat' competition, American dealers cannot afford and ought not to give encouragement to publishers who seek by questionable practices to break down the business of houses on this side who are known to do business squarely and fairly." In 1879, a number of articles critical of Canadian book piracy and of American firms buying unauthorized Canadian reprints appeared in *The Publishers' Weekly* at the same time as George

Putnam's four-part series in support of an international copyright treaty. While the existence of a Canadian reprint industry was not the only reason why an increasing number of American publishers and authors supported international copyright, the uproar over Canadian pirates invading the American market with reprints of British and American books strengthened Putnam's argument that the United States needed a reciprocal copyright agreement in order to protect both the American market and American authors.[28]

In a letter to the editor in the 19 April 1879 issue of *The Publishers' Weekly*, John W. Lovell responded to the article "Canadian Incursion." He regarded the article as a thinly-disguised attack on his publishing practices: "I must presume that I am the person alluded to, and that your remarks upon Canadian publishers are intended to apply to me also" (470). While he agreed with the anonymous author of "Canadian Incursion" that the comments levelled at the Canadian reprint industry "may be just," he added, "I think American publishers are fully able to meet any such competition without the necessity of attacking the personal character of their opponents." Moreover, he wrote that he felt it "almost criminal negligence to attack the character of any one in the manner you have done in my case when, by very little inquiry, you could have so easily ascertained the true particulars." Lovell identified himself "[a]s an American publisher and an American manufacturer"—distancing himself from his Canadian origins—who employed a large number of Americans in his current reprint publishing firm, the John W. Lovell Company. Finally, he defended his publishing practices and argued that "[c]heap books are what are wanted."

Lovell was one of the more prominent reprint publishers. He was infamous for not paying foreign authors for American imprints of their books. He was also accused of pirating American-copyrighted books, and participating—along with other publishers of inexpensive reprints—in a race to provide the cheapest literature possible (Stern 264). For example, in their advertisement in the 18 December 1880 issue of *The Publishers' Weekly*, Boston publishers Estes and Lauriat included a caution to the public and the trade against buying Lovell's unauthorized imprint of the *Chatterbox* series of books, which was "a close imitation of the original, and well calculated to deceive" (844). The series was originally published in England by James Johnston, who had authorized the Estes and Lauriat's American reprint. The Chatterbox case eventually wound up in the United States Circuit Court, where, in 1884, Lovell won the case because British authors could not transfer their copyright to an American firm ("Decisions" 26-27). Lovell's actions were not that unusual, as more established American publishers also printed rival editions of books that British authors and publishers had previously authorized other American firms to produce. For example, in a letter dated 16 May 1881, George Bentley wrote to Harper Brothers, objecting to the New York company's reprinting a Bentley publication that the British firm had contracted Scribner to publish in the United States (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 41, Vol. 85, p 265). Bentley wrote, "I am not foolish enough to expect you to consider me beyond the bare possibility that you may desire pleasant relations with a house with which you may someday wish to do business."

George Brett and others in the book trade viewed Lovell and the entire American reprint industry as another constraint on the growth of the American and international book trades, and—to a certain degree—a larger problem than the Canadian reprint industry. The race to supply the cheapest books meant that a number of American reprinters were selling books for less than the cost of publication; the only way to recoup their initial costs and realize any profit was sales by reprinters of substantial quantities of their publications.[29] As a result, the North American market was awash with inexpensive books, and the over abundance of cheap reprints curtailed the sales of other American, British, and Canadian publishers' titles. For example, in a letter dated 11 February 1885, Brett wrote to Macmillan that he must be "as much mortified as myself" at Richard Worthington's "pirated editions of 'Alice' and 'Looking Glass'" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 12, p 122). Brett could not understand how Worthington could publish Lewis Carroll's novels so inexpensively. He devoted much of his correspondence to Macmillan outlining plans and schemes to defeat the pirates, including buying up stereotype plates; consequently, he suggested that the firm must quickly "get possession of … [Lewis Carroll's] Plates at a low price" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 12, p 124a). Unauthorized, cheap reprints enraged authors and publishers on both sides of the Atlantic, and Brett was not alone in his protestations against book piracy.

In February 1879, *The Publishers' Weekly* asked its readers five questions in relation to George Putnam's four-part series on international copyright:

1. Do you favor International Copyright?
2. What plan seems to you most practical in view of all interests concerned?
3. What method of accomplishing this plan seems most feasible?
4. Can you (if author) estimate sales of your works abroad, and your loss for want of International Copyright?

5. Can you suggest any desirable changes in the domestic copyright law? ("Questions" 197)

Over the course of the year, responses of authors, booksellers, and publishers were printed in the journal. Generally, the majority of respondents supported some type of international copyright; however, there was little consensus concerning the form of the law, the definition of copyright, and the method of implementing international copyright. For example, in the 15 February 1879 issue of *The Publishers' Weekly*, J. B. Lippincott supported international copyright "providing there be introduced therein the all-important condition that all copies sold here of works protected by such a law be manufactured entirely in this country" (197). In contrast to the Philadelphian publisher's opinion, New York publisher G. W. Carleton argued in the same issue that an international copyright law should include "[a] universal, absolute right and control, through the world, to eternity, of the author's brain-work to the author, his heirs, executors, and assigns."

Also, a number of authors wrote about how an international copyright law would help protect their intellectual property from piracy. In answer to question four, in the 22 February 1879 issue of *The Publishers' Weekly*, Joseph Cooke observed that "[s]ome 40,000 or 50,000 copies of two editions of the "Boston Monday Lectures" have been sold abroad" (239). Other authors wrote about "courtesy of the trade" and how the foreign reprinting of their books earned them token payments that did not compensate them fairly for their books. In March 1879, bestselling author Marion Harland remarked that "[a]ll of my books—novels and cookery manuals—have, I believe, been republished abroad. For three of these I received $100 apiece .... I have to say that, had my foreign copyright equalled by half the liberal percentage I have had from American publishers, I should be what I am not—a rich woman" (353). In the 19 March 1879 issue of *The Publishers' Weekly*, John Habberton wrote that "[a]t least nine different firms in England and Scotland [have] reprinted my "Helen's Babies," and between them sold more than a quarter of a million copies of the shilling editions before 1878 .... The book was translated into German, French, and Italian .... Two Australian houses reprinted the book, and two in Canada, but without any remuneration to the author" (262). *The New York Herald* drama critic, Habberton noted that while a couple of foreign firms offered token or "courtesy" payments, of the "twenty foreign editions of which I know ... have sold at least half a million copies, and I have received for all of them rather less than $200." Cooke, Harland, and Habberton all agreed that "courtesy of the trade" was only sporadically practiced and that an international copyright law was essential, if they were to get their monetary due in terms of the foreign sales of their works.

The practice of "courtesy of the trade"—making payments for the reprinting of books not covered by existing copyright laws—was a custom that some American publishers practised: "notably Carey and Lea of Philadelphia and Harper Brothers of New York made ex gratia payments to British authors, but there was no legal obligation to do so" (Feather 153). An economic depression in the United States in the 1830s led to the increase of the inexpensive and "genuinely piratical reprints," and the practice of "courtesy of the trade" waned (154). By the 1870s, established American publishers, like George Putnam, recognized that "'courtesy of the trade' was not going to retain its effectiveness" (351). Moreover, he reasoned that the declining practice of "courtesy of the trade" only further accentuated the need for an international copyright law.

John W. Lovell recognized that "courtesy of the trade" was a dying practice and agreed with Putnam that the United States needed to take part in an international copyright treaty. In the 19 April 1879 issue of *The Publishers' Weekly*, Lovell argued that only established and well-off firms could afford the practice, and in his own experience "[g]o in heartily for the 'courtesy of the trade' and—starve" (470). However, Lovell disagreed with Putnam on the type of copyright law required and contended that the American print manufacturing industry must be protected at all costs. A number of his advertisements in *The Publishers' Weekly* included the headline "Encourage Home Manufacture" (146).[30] Lovell, still believing that authors deserved to be "fairly remunerate[d] ... for their brain-work," promoted a royalty scheme—similar in nature to the Imperial Reprints Act—that allowed firms to reprint any books, as long as the holder of copyright received a royalty for that publication (470-71). However, Lovell's royalty scheme was generally dismissed by the trade, and Putnam's promotion of a law guaranteeing unconditional foreign ownership of copyrighted material also had its critics ("Monopoly" 508-09).

The "Canadian incursion" into the American market and the American reprint industry incited many within a trade that previously had been very protectionist to reconsider the issue of international copyright. In 1886, Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Liberia, Tunis, and Haiti signed the Berne Convention, which was a reciprocal copyright treaty that guaranteed signatories of the convention would abide by each other's copyright acts (Feather 168). However, the

American delegation refused to sign the treaty, and "[t]he exclusion of the United States from the Berne Convention … [further] provoked some American authors and publishers into action." For example, George Putnam helped to found the American copyright League in 1883, and the American Publishers' Copyright League in 1887. Both organizations lobbied the American government for copyright reform and supported "[a] succession of bills [that] was considered by Congress between 1886 and 1890." Nevertheless, other protectionist interests, including the "powerful trade unions in the printing industry," argued against international copyright, and the bills "all fell to the opposition of the Democrats. Their supporters, especially in the south, were bitterly antipathetic to any measure which would open up American markets to foreign competition …. The publishers of cheap reprint series were [also] against it" (Feather 168).

George Brett's correspondence documented the repeated attempts in the 1880s to get a new American copyright law passed, and the negative consequences for British firms when the United States failed to sign the Berne Convention. In a letter dated 23 October 1885, Brett wrote to Macmillan that he feared the firm's American business would not expand until the "Copyright question is settled and that seems as far off as ever" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 12, p 205). However, he was somewhat more optimistic in February 1888 when he mentioned a conference in Philadelphia that was reconsidering the issue of international copyright (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 4, Vol. 14, p 5a). Despite Brett's confidence that the United States would eventually sign the Berne Convention, he developed various coping strategies to deal with the Canadian and American reprint publishers, and a lack of international copyright, during his tenure as Macmillan's New York manager. For example, he utilized new technologies, including developments in transportation, to outwit the reprinters. In 1870, he asked Frederick Macmillan to send printing plates by the fastest ships so they could keep "the field to ourselves" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 12, p 103-06).

Brett died in 1890 and his son George Platt Brett took over as manager of the New York agency and became a resident partner in Macmillan (Madison 262). George P. Brett continued his father's actions in battling the reprinters. In 1891, he wrote of using the telegraph to transmit book orders quickly to London; however, he further reported that the reprinters used the telegraph to ascertain what books were popular and merited reprinting (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 10, Vol. 498, p 60). When technology did not give the firm an edge over the reprinters, George P. Brett devised other schemes to outwit the pirates. For example, in a letter dated 30 August 1890, he wrote to Frederick Macmillan about the possibility of Rudyard Kipling's coauthoring a book with an American writer: "I suppose Mr. Kipling would not like to publish this book with an American Author as Collaborator, who might indeed be only a hack writer, and whose name would be of use simply on account of it carrying the copyright. There will be so many reprints of the book that it would be a source of great satisfaction to me, if not to the author, to out do the 'pirates'" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 4, Vol. 15, pp 111-12). The book in question was Kipling's *The Naulahka: A Story of West and East* (1892), which he coauthored with American Wolcott Balestier (Towheed 426-27). Brett's plan was for Balestier to register for American copyright and Kipling to register for British copyright; thereby

Macmillan's publication would be protected in both the British and colonial markets, and in the United States. Still, Balestier was John W. Lovell's London agent and friend; consequently, Macmillan worried that Lovell might get an advance copy of *Naulahka*. In April 1892, Frederick Macmillan wrote to George P. Brett reminding him that if "Lovell does anything in the way of piracy" the firm would need to exercise their legal rights (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 10, Vol. 498, pp 285-86). George P. Brett constantly tried to advance the firm's American interests, but he feared that British writers would never succeed in the United States because of the problem of book piracy and the lack of copyright protection for foreign authors (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 4, Vol. 15, pp 32-33).[31]

Finally, in a letter dated 11 April 1890, George P. Brett wrote to Macmillan that "[t]he Secretary of the copyright league tells me that a majority can be counted in both houses in favour of the international copyright bill" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 5, Vol. 15, p 47). The Chase Act (1891) protected the work of non-resident authors; however, in order "to claim copyright protection in the United States, a book had to [be] published there no later than it was published in its country of origin. Secondly, it had to be printed in the United States, or printed from type set in the United States or from plates made from type set in the United States" (Feather 168). While Brett's letters to Macmillan expressed pleasure that the new law existed, he also expressed frustration that the publication of a book now needed to be synchronized in Britain and the United States (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 4, Vol. 17, p 55). Moreover, in a letter dated 10 August 1894, Brett wrote that an author, Mr. Crawford, was "not quite satisfied as to the Colonial editions. He thinks that they interfere slightly with his

American market, coming in … considerable numbers into the northern states along the Canadian border" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 4, Vol. 17, p 177). The Chase Act still did not completely resolve the problem of Canadian editions of books surreptitiously slipping across the border into the American market.

In the late nineteenth century, anxiety and fear of book piracy were common emotions expressed both in American trade periodicals, and in George E. Brett's and George P. Brett's correspondence. Reflecting the growth of a rhizomic network, the escalation of this fear initially stimulated the debate surrounding American copyright laws and made publishers apprehensive about their firms' survival. Eventually, the growing concern with book piracy and the reprint trade coalesced into organized movements and organizations such as the American Copyright League and the American Publishers' Copyright League. Further reflecting this concern with piracy, the United States passed the Chase Act in 1891 and finally joined the Berne Convention in 1896. Also in that year, at a meeting of different national publishers' associations and publishers discussing international copyright in Paris, the International Publishers Association (IPA) was established to defend existing national and international copyright laws and to lobby on the international stage for further copyright laws and treaties, which in turn supported the growth of the international book trade (http://www.ipa-uie.org/). Moreover, the rapid development of the North American reprint industry suggested that there was a growing appetite for literature—albeit in inexpensive form—in the United States, Canada, and elsewhere, which encouraged publishers to compete against the pirates and expand their markets both nationally and internationally. George P. Brett recognized that with reprinters seizing a large share of the American market, Britain's signing the Berne Convention in 1886, and an escalating demand for English-language books throughout the world, it was essential for Macmillan to participate in the international book trade. Thus, in 1886, Brett argued that Macmillan needed to expand the firm's market to include the Australian colonies, New Zealand, "Japan and possibly some of the Chinese Posts" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, pp 54-55, 90-92). The fear of piracy and the development of international copyright laws prompted George P. Brett to recommend to Frederick Macmillan that the firm should not rely on the success of the British and American agencies, but instead needed to open overseas branches.

Conclusion

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, British, American, Canadian, colonial, and other book trades struggled with the problem of book piracy. In September 1890, an article in the journal of the Society of Authors, *The Author*, suggested that book piracy was still a problem in the British colonies even after Britain's adoption of the Berne Convention in 1886 ("English Authors" 111). In 1884, Walter Besant established the Society of Authors as a union of British writers interested in "relations between publishers and authors, and with copyright law reform, both domestic and international" (Feather 180). The anonymous article in *The Author* reviewed the responses to a Society of Authors' survey of "prominent book-sellers in our various Colonies," regarding "how much the author is at present injured by these reprints, which are mostly American, and how far anything could be done to prevent injury" (111). The survey of booksellers revealed that unauthorized editions of British and colonial books were imported freely into Penang, Singapore, Africa, "India, and into British Guiana …. In some colonies, what legal protection the law affords, is enforced, and in some it is not" (112). However, the article claimed that book piracy did not threaten "to any extent … Australia or New Zealand," as both international and imperial copyright law was particularly enforced in the Australian colonial market.

Still, book piracy continued to be a problem in other colonial markets in the 1890s. For example, in South Africa unauthorized reprints were "openly exposed for sale: it was not so very long ago there was a book-seller in Cape Town who had his windows simply swamped with these pirated American books" (113). Moreover, according to the article in *The Author*, Colonial booksellers agreed with Edward Petherick "that the most certain remedy imaginable would be to issue cheap authorised editions for the Colonial market" (113). The article recommended that the British government and Colonial office take steps to prevent such widespread robbery "and [to] secure the profits" for authors by enforcing existing copyright laws (111), and by negotiating further copyright treaties with countries like the United States. The Society of Authors believed that the British book trade, in particular "English authors[,] ought to secure a better hold on this enormous market" (114).

Authors, publishers, wholesalers, booksellers, and others involved in the international book trade were anxious about the effect of piracy on the book industry. This pervasive fear was common to all the major developed and developing nineteenth-century book trades. Moreover, as the panic surrounding book piracy circulated and grew, the fear of book piracy was deterritorialized and reterritorialized in the Australasian colonies. Importing this fear into a market historically unaffected by the scourge of book piracy, William Robertson and George Robertson drew on the experiences of other colonial and foreign book trades, used the discourse surrounding the issue, and overestimated the few cases of book piracy in order to create the perception that piracy was a serious problem in the Australasian colonies. In 1855, William Robertson's and George Robertson's public protest against book piracy in *The Athenaeum* drew attention to the increasing demand for literature in the Australasian market that outstripped the existing supply of books from Britain. Consequently, William Robertson warned British publishers that if they did not increase the supply of books, the Australasian trade would have to find books elsewhere.

The letters encouraged the British trade to provide a regular and inexpensive supply of books to the expanding Australasian market, and William Robertson cautioned British readers that the British trade would be shut out of the colonies if British publishers did not compete with the Americans firms. However, the letters also clearly indicated that George Robertson was willing to defend British copyright and support the sale of British books in the colonies. The brothers exaggerated the threat of piracy and capitalized on William Howitt's initial letter in *The Athenaeum* to draw attention to the supposed invasion of the Australasian market by American book pirates. They also manipulated the fears of British publishers—who were already largely shut out of the Canadian market because of piracy—that they would once again lose access to a potentially lucrative market. Still, the actual levels of piracy were quite low, as demonstrated by Kirsop and Hubber in their respective studies.

While George Robertson may have inflated the threat of book piracy in 1855, his letters to the Collector of Customs in Victoria, and the entire series of letters in *The Athenaeum* certainly brought the potential problem of book piracy to the attention of British publishers and colonial officials.

The international trade in English-language books developed in tandem with the growth of book piracy in the nineteenth century. For example, in Canada, the proximity of the American reprinters to the Canadian market, and of the Canadian reprinters to the American market, led to fierce competition in the nineteenth century between reprint publishers to produce inexpensive books for the North American market. The destructive actions of reprint firms caused a number of individuals on both sides of the border to reassess their trade's protectionist stance. Like-minded individuals in both the Canadian and American book trades cooperated and lobbied for an international copyright agreement and for the reformation of the Canadian and American domestic copyright laws. However, other individuals welcomed the reprinters and fought against any further attempts to regulate the book trade. Regardless, the increasing anxiety regarding book piracy in the North American market had a transformative effect on the entire industry.

While piracy caused some firms to entrench and focus on protecting their established markets, other firms expanded their business networks in an effort to combat decreasing sales by entering new markets and entering into new partnerships and business arrangements. Thus, as the reprinters sought out new markets and the fear of book piracy spread around the world—both aided by developments in communication and transportation—the reprint industry's actions in turn also spurred the growth of the field of international literary production and distribution. The fear of reprinters destroying local, developing book trades further encouraged cooperation among individuals, who in turn supported both the development of international copyright law and the growth of the international book trade. Moreover, publishers, authors, booksellers, and others lobbied the different levels of government for protection against what many felt was a scourge that would, if unchecked, destroy the existing book trades. Eventually, informal networks developed into formal national organizations like the Canadian Publishers' Association, American Publishers' Copyright League, and the Society of Authors. These organizations lobbied for copyright reform on both the local and international stages. By the late nineteenth century, national organizations united to form international associations like the International Publishers Association that encouraged both countries to join the Berne Convention and the development of new international copyright treaties, which in turn supported the expansion of the international book trade.

Notes

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[1] Scholte locates "incipient material globalization" as the period between 1850 and 1950, and he argues that during this period "much groundwork for subsequent full-scale globalization was laid between the mid nineteenth and mid twentieth centuries" (66).

[2] Robert O'Brien and Marc Williams argue that in order for the gold standard to work "three factors had to hold true. First, countries were required to fix their currencies in relation to gold. This meant that they had to declare that their currency was worth a particular amount of gold and then be willing to exchange it for gold. The second requirement was to allow the relatively free movement of gold across state boundaries. The third requirement was that currencies would be able to change value in relationship to each other while staying fixed to gold" (87). The period from 1870 to 1914 was the pinnacle of the gold-standard system.

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[3] John Feather surveys a number of the pre-Berne Convention copyright acts between Britain and other countries in *Publishing Piracy and Politics* (149-65).

[4] In 1855, William Robertson was living in Dublin, and possibly working in the book trade there. His brother had worked for the Dublin bookseller and publisher Currey and Company before leaving for Melbourne in 1852. In 1857, William Robertson officially joined his brother's firm when he became the manager of the newly opened London office (Holroyd 19).

[5] Please see Chapter Three.

[6] In a letter dated 5 July 1876, Petherick wrote to Bentley that Robertson had, on the British firm's behalf, ascertained that *Leah,* which was published by Bentley in 1875, "was reprinted in the columns of 'the Australasian' during one month of 1875" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU 49).

[7] In 1886, Bentley's Australian Library was an inexpensive collection of books previously published specifically for the colonies (Johanson 65).

[8] In 1885, George E. Brett also made a similar suggestion to Frederick Macmillan, arguing that cheap editions of popular books were warranted (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 12, pp 170b-71). The following year, Macmillan's adoption of a plan to release "a colonial library of new British novels, often using U.S. or U.K. stereotype plates for printing," marked the first instance of a colonial series of new books (Johanson 144).

[9] The Canadian book trade was accused "of ignoring native writers 'because they made good sales and large profits on British and American works, which were already popular, and seldom pushed Canadian books.' He [E.H. Dewart] concluded that 'our colonial position … is not favourable to the growth of an indigenous literature" (Parker, *Beginnings* 91).

[10] In 1872 with fellow Canadian publisher John Lovell, Adam made his first buying trip to London, and upon return in the fall announced "in his *Canada Bookseller* that he now represented every important British and American house (over 100 of them)" (Parker, *Beginnings* 177).

[11] Reverend William Withrow worked at the office of the *Christian Guardian and Evangelical Witness Methodist Magazine* in Toronto and was a friend of both Adam and Kirby.

[12] Lovell first challenged the Foreign Reprints Act (1847) in the 1850s when he had a school text book printed in the United States and imported into the country, which "was more cheaply than Sullivan [the author] could supply him with an English edition" (Parker, "English-Canadian Publishers" 150).

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[13] In the 1950s, John K. Lovell granted Madeleine Stern access to his family papers, including various documents relating to his father, John W. Lovell. Among these numbered a manuscript entitled "Earlier Years," and personal and business correspondence. John K. Lovell died in Yonkers, NY in 1970, and, in May 2003, Stern informed me in a telephone conversation that the whereabouts of the Lovell papers were currently unknown.

[14] The letter supports the idea that John Lovell was not just a financial backer of his son's firm, but possibly a silent partner who had a say in what the firm published (William Kirby Collection F1076, MS 542, A6 II Adam 24 May 1876).

[15] The 1875 Canadian Copyright Act extended protection to all "works registered, printed, and published in Canada" (Parker, *Beginnings* 185). Even though Kirby's novel was published in the United States, if *The Chien d'Or* had been promptly registered in Canada, Kirby would have had copyright of his novel.

[16] In 1890, John W. Lovell bought out Richard Worthington (Stern 284).

[17] Adam had to ask for Kirby's permission for a new Canadian imprint, even though the novel was not copyrighted, since under the 1875 act even if an author "did not comply with Canadian law, that is, did not register his titles, his permission was still necessary for a Canadian reprint, but reprints of his works could be imported from foreign countries" (Parker, *Beginnings* 185).

[18] In a letter dated 2 April 1878, Lovell's father advised Kirby that the stereotype plates for *The Chien d'Or* had cost $800 (William Kirby Collection F1076, MS 542, A6 II). Three different prices, $750, $800, and $1,000, were reported to Kirby by John Lovell and his son regarding the cost of making the stereotype plates for the novel.

[19] Elizabeth Brady describes other pirated issues and editions in "A Bibliographical Essay on William Kirby's *The Golden Dog* 1877-1977" (24-48).

[20] In 1879, May Laffan Hartley wrote to Edward Petherick that she received little remuneration for her American editions, but that she hoped her growing sales of books in the United States would improve future sales of her authorized novels (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 50).

[21] Kirby only edited the typeset proofs of the first edition of *The Chien d'Or* made in advance of the stereotype plates; he never had a chance to proofread the galley proofs from the stereotype plates (Parker, *Beginnings* 190).

[22] Rose argued that, contrary to John Lovell's piracy, negotiation was the proper way by which to deal with British authors and publishers: he "told the Toronto *Globe* in 1872 about the 'friendly terms' for Canadian copyright editions he had arranged with British authors Edward Bulwer-Lytton, Wilkie Collins, Charles Reade, and George

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MacDonald" (Parker, "English-Canadian Publishers" 152). However, Rose's "friendly" negotiations with the British authors, like Collins, were a tenuous and protracted process, where Collins repeatedly threatened to "abandon" the Canadian rights to his novels if the proposed 1875 Canadian copyright bill passed or the reprinters threatened the American sale of his novels.

[23] Graeme Mercer Adam "served as business manager for [Goldwyn] Smith's newsletter" in 1880 and 1881, and again in 1883 (Parker, *Beginnings* 178).

[24] As early as the 1840s, a small number of American authors and publishers attempted to "persuade Congress to introduce some sort of international copyright law" (Feather 159).

[25] The first international organization, the International Telecommunications Union, was founded in 1865.

[26] In 1879, the Canadian government placed a tariff on books in order to discourage the flow of foreign books into Canada. The new law angered Canadian booksellers who argued that tariff was unfair. An anonymous Canadian bookseller wrote in the 27 December 1879 issue of *The Publishers' Weekly* about the injustice of the Canadian law, and that "[t]he order in council exempts every man who deals with a foreign bookseller from the operation of the act, and, with a grim contempt for the national policy, weights the Canadian bookseller with the full burden of the duty" ("Canadian Book" 883). According to this bookseller, if a Canadian customer ordered a book from an American bookseller, he did not have to pay the duty whereas, if a Canadian bookseller ordered books from the United States, he did have to pay the duty. In general, Canadian booksellers felt the new tariff would devastate their subscription business.

[27] While publishers may have refused to pay the tariffs on copyrighted material, another reason for the proliferation of cheap books—and how publishers were able to have a viable business based on the reprint trade—was new printing technology, such as power presses, and new paper-making technology that saw paper made from wood pulp rather than rags, which reduced the costs of book production (Parker, *Beginnings* 184).

[28] American authors supported international and domestic copyright law reform as well because publishers often overlooked local authors because they had to pay domestic authors copyright, but could reprint British books without paying for copyright.

[29] Reprint companies often went bankrupt if the books they produced did not sell in large enough quantities. For example, a number of John W. Lovell's publishing firms failed, including the John W. Lovell Company in 1881: the firm had "been doing a very large business on a moderate capital, and when the dull season arrived" Lovell was unable to "meet maturing obligations" ("A Publisher Embarrassed" 8).

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[30] Lovell's father used a similar slogan in his Canadian publications: "Encourage Home Industry" (Parker, "English–Canadian Publishers" 150).

[31] Both George E. Brett and George P. Brett also suggested ways of circumventing American duties and tariffs. For example, in 1885, George E. Brett recommended that Macmillan ship books, whenever possible, directly to Canada as the British firm would then avoid paying American duties, which Macmillan would have to pay if the books were first sent to the New York agency for distribution (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 12 , p 118).

Chapter Five—The International Book Trade

In 1855, William Robertson's and George Robertson's respective letters in *The Athenaeum* drew attention to the increasing colonial and foreign demand for English-language books that exceeded the sporadic supply from English publishers. George Robertson and others in the Australian and colonial book trades wanted British publishers to send regular and inexpensive shipments of books and texts to the colonies. However, few British firms were initially interested in either the colonial or foreign markets outside North America and Europe: London publishers believed that the potential monetary return from the international sale of English-language books would be insufficient to cover the costs of shipping and distributing books overseas to Australasia, India, Asia, and elsewhere. While British publishers established partnerships with American and European firms to combat book piracy and to reprint British books and texts for the American and European markets in the first half of the nineteenth century, British houses showed little interest in other international markets until the second half of the nineteenth century.

In 1857, George Robertson opened a London agency to facilitate the regular shipment of books between Britain and the Australasian colonies. During the 1860s and 1870s, Robertson's shipments increased from a few zinc-lined cases of books every month to regular weekly shipments to the colonies (Petherick Collection MS 760, 18, 24). While the costs associated with transportation were high, Petherick noted that Robertson still made a "handsome profit" ("Bookselling in Australia" 465). Robertson's business was buoyed by a rapidly expanding Australasian reading public who demanded a regular supply of inexpensive English-language fiction and non-fiction. In the nineteenth century, reading was central to both English and colonial culture and society "as a process of communication and as a social and leisure activity. As an activity, accomplishment or ambition, the reading and possession of books were seen to reflect literary taste, respectability and social rank" (Askew and Hubber 113). Australasian colonists regarded the practice of reading particularly as "central to [an] ... objective of cultural advancement." Furthermore, the introduction of universal education programs in the colonies increased the pressure on Robertson to supply both the Australasian public and the Australasian school system with inexpensive British books.[1] Between 1870 and 1888 when Edward Petherick was Robertson's London manager, the firm "was probably the single most important influence in determining what books were supplied to Australian readers" (116). As a result of Robertson's success with his London agency, and the rapid growth of his colonial distribution, bookselling, and publishing business, British publishers like Richard Bentley and Macmillan were eager by the 1870s and 1880s—regardless of the expensive costs involved—to work with Robertson to promote not only the sale of British books in the colonies but also the creation of inexpensive editions specifically for the colonial market.

British publishers found themselves at a disadvantage from their ignorance of the local colonial markets, which arose from their inclination, until the 1870s, to leave the overseas distribution of books to colonial wholesalers and booksellers like George Robertson. As a result, many publishers found it necessary to work with Robertson to secure a share of the increasingly lucrative colonial market. Robertson and Petherick had both developed the infrastructure to distribute books throughout the

Australasian colonies; as well, they tested the quickest shipping routes between England and the colonies. While Robertson and Petherick solicited Richard Bentley about allowing the Australian firm to use Bentley's imprint to produce editions of the London firm's popular novels for the colonies, other publishers approached Robertson and presented him with favourable retail terms if he would buy their publications. For example, in a letter dated 12 August 1879, George Adam Young offered Robertson the "New Liberal Translation of the Bible 2nd edition" that the religious publisher believed "should sell largely in Australia" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 38). Young offered the Bible, to retail at twenty-one shillings, at half price if Robertson would buy upwards of a 1,000 copies, and at seven shillings if more than a 1,000 copies were purchased for the Australasian market. Publishers, like Young, wanted a share of the thriving Australasian book trade; subsequently, firms offered their books at a deep discount to Robertson in the hope that he would purchase their books for the colonial market.[2]

Outside Australasia, British publishers also often found it expedient to work with local firms who could act as distributing agents. For example, Graeme Mercer Adams announced in the October 1872 edition of *The Canadian Bookseller* that he represented over one hundred important American and British houses, including Scribners, Longman, and Murray (26). In the 1860s and 1870s, Richard Bentley worked with the American publishing firms Lippincott and Henry Holt both to produce American editions of Bentley publications and to distribute books that the British firm shipped to the United States (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 31, Vol. 60, p 151; Reel 33, Vol. 65, p 205; Reel 32, Vol. 62, p 304; Reel 41, Vol. 85, pp

93-94). British firms had the material and the capital to produce English-language books for the emerging North American, colonial, and foreign markets; however, the publishers needed to cooperate with their American, colonial, and foreign counterparts who were familiar with the local markets and the channels of distribution.

This chapter examines the shift in the last three decades of the nineteenth century from British publishers eagerly cooperating with their colonial and foreign counterparts to British, colonial, and foreign firms directly competing for a share of the international book trade. In the first section I consider the development of Richard Bentley and Son's Foreign and Colonial Department, and the British firm's growing interest in selling books overseas, particularly in the United States, India, and Australasia. The firm not only worked with colonial and foreign wholesalers, publishers, and booksellers to distribute the house's publications in international markets but also competed with Macmillan and other British and American firms for a share of the overseas market in English-language books. Secondly, I review Macmillan's foray into the Australasian book market, specifically focusing on George P. Brett's trip, in 1887, to Australia and New Zealand. Both Brett and his father identified the potential of a quick trade route to the colonies that utilized the transcontinental railroad across the United States and the port of San Francisco. Initially, George P. Brett advocated Macmillan's working with colonial firms to increase the British house's share of the book market, particularly the educational sector; however, after travelling in Australia, he recognized that Macmillan would eventually need to establish local distribution offices in Australia and New Zealand

(*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 12, p 146). Finally, I document the shift in the 1890s away from British firms' eagerness to cooperate with and support colonial wholesalers, booksellers, and publishers' enterprises to British publishers' direct competition with their colonial and foreign counterparts for access to and a portion of the international market in English-language books. In 1887, a consortium of British publishers and printers financially backed the launch of Petherick's Colonial Book Agency—a company that sold and distributed books on an international scale. Nevertheless, when Petherick's outstanding bank loans came due in 1892, his financial backers refused to help him (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, pp 3, 17, 25, 79). Bentley, Macmillan, Longman, and other investors realized that they no longer needed to work with middlemen, like Petherick, to gain access to the international book market, and so they allowed Petherick's company to fail.

Richard Bentley and Son

Richard Bentley recognized that publishing was not only a business, but also a gamble: "the publication of a book was a speculation and a very uncertain one" (Gettmann 77).[3] Bentley was initially very cautious about entering the international book trade; however, in the 1860s, he established partnerships with American firms, like Appleton, Lippincott, and Henry Holt, to sell British publications in the United States, which he identified as a potentially lucrative market for the British firm. In 1870s, Bentley, his son George, and his grandson Richard further gambled that expanding their trade to include Australasia, South Africa, and eventually India would financially benefit the firm. Relying solely on the British market limited the quantity of books the London firm could sell in an already crowded and competitive business.

Readership in England grew rapidly in the 1830s, partially because of "the various educational movements initiated early in the century that expanded literacy among children, women and men of different classes" (Brantlinger 12). Many publishing firms, including Richard Bentley and Son, focused on producing works for the growing reading public: bestsellers that "would flood the bookstores for three to six months and then disappear from the shelves" (Gettmann 23). Similarly, popular genres such as fiction, travel narrative, and history also found an appreciative audience in the United States, where a parallel expansion in the reading pubic occurred in the nineteenth century. Richard Bentley sold his publications in small irregular shipments to North American booksellers throughout the first half of the nineteenth century; however, in the 1860s, he regularly shipped large quantities of his books to the United States. For example, in a letter dated 14 February 1868, Richard Bentley wrote to Lippincott about the prospect of the Philadelphian publishing firm's purchasing a discounted quantity of Lady Mary E. Herbert's *The Mission of St. Francis of Sales* (1868) and Frederick Boyle's *A Ride Across a Continent: A Personal Narrative of Wandering Through Nicaragua and Costa Rica* (1868): "In regards to Lady Herbert's *St Francis of Sales* we should be happy to let you have 250 copies at half-price … and 100 copies of Mr. Boyle's *Ride Across a Continent* also at half-price" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 41, Vol. 84, p 112). Bentley not only sold British publications to Lippincott but also offered to purchase copies of the Philadelphian firm's publications. In a letter dated 8 February 1870, Bentley wrote to

Lippincott that "[i]n regard to any works which you may publish henceforth, likely any way to interest the English public, I would suggest that where they were of a popular nature you would find it more to your interest to negotiate with me" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 41, Vol. 84, p 155).

Bentley acknowledged that the lack of an international copyright treaty hampered the transatlantic book trade and was "unsatisfactory" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU The Foreign and Colonial Department, 1889). Nevertheless, the British firm continued to expand its transatlantic business and, in the 1870s and 1880s, collaborated with Henry Holt and other American houses to produce American editions of British novels and books. For example, in 1878, George Bentley, who had taken over the firm after his father had died in 1871, and his son Richard Bentley II, who was in charge of the Foreign and Colonial Department from 1877 to 1879, offered to sell to Holt the moulds for an unnamed multi-volume work that the British firm had found expensive to have set and readied for printing: "As the initial expenses of the work are heavy we would be willing to supply you with the moulds at cost price" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 41, Vol. 85, pp 93-94).[4] Richard Bentley and Son suggested the American firm reprint the book in the United States, and "should the work answer satisfactorily you would no doubt permit us to participate in the profit." Furthermore, the British house suggested that if Holt should "expect the sale to be a limited one we could furnish you with 100 copies (or perhaps 200 copies) in sheets at a reduced rate" that the American house could then bind in the United States. In 1880, the firm dispatched stereotype plates to Holt so the publishers could simultaneously produce books in both the United States and Britain.

In a letter dated 12 November 1880, Frederick William Jordan, who succeeded Richard Bentley as head of the Foreign and Colonial Department, proposed that Holt produce an American edition of Lady Florence Dixie's *Across Patagonia* (1880) (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 41, Vol. 85, pp 219-20). Jordan wrote that he would send Holt the illustration electroplates "on the chance merely of their use." Moreover, he accepted that Holt might not want to reprint *Across Patagonia* and asked the American firm to find a publisher who would want to purchase the plates: "should you not use the book please shew [sic] to Harpers—& let them have the sheets and Electros for £25 or any sum above £25 that you can get—but not for less certainly than twenty guineas."

George Bentley insisted that the publication dates of the British and American editions of a book like *Across Patagonia* be synchronized in order to combat book piracy. American reprinters would have their London agents both acquire recently published books and send the books to the United States where the reprinters would quickly produce copies for the American market. Bentley's strategy was simple: if the British and American publication dates were coordinated in advance, and the American publisher could release the book on the same day, or shortly thereafter, as the British publication, then the reprinters would not be able to publish their cheaply made editions before the authorized American edition appeared. Bentley, his son, and Jordan often wrote to their American partners cautioning them about letting anyone know about upcoming publications. For example, in a letter dated 10 March 1880, Jordan warned Appleton against telling anyone the title of Rhoda Broughton's new novel *Second Thoughts* (1880) (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 41, Vol.

85, p 179). Also, he reminded Appleton that the New York firm would receive "from time to time (by different steamers) proofs of Miss Broughton's new story .... We will write to you at the close of this month stating time of publications, as it is of course necessary that the work should not appear in the United States before it does in England." While Appleton would receive the proofs as they were readied, Bentley did not want to run the risk of the American firm's accidentally publishing the book before the British edition was ready for publication; consequently, he reminded the New York firm that they should only publish after he had confirmed the British release date.

While Richard Bentley and Son had arrangements with a number of different American publishers, including Lippincott, Appleton, and Putnam, the firm the British publishing house did the most business with was Henry Holt. Holt often acted on Bentley's behalf in the United States. For instance, on 3 February 1885, George Bentley wrote to Holt asking the New York firm to receive electroplates intended for Funk and Wagnall and to collect the money owed to the British firm: "Messers Funk and Wagnall of New York applied to us in November last for a set of Stereo-type plates of LETTERS FROM HELL through their London agent and agreed to pay £40 down in cash for them .... Their London Manager ... became ill or went out of town and no settlement could be effected with him" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 86, pp 48-49).[5] George Bentley in the meantime republished Valdemar Adolph Thisted's *Letters from Hell* (1885) in London, and he requested that Holt approach Funk and Wagnall to settle the matter.[6] Also, he added that if Funk and

Wagnall "will not pay for the stereos will you kindly give effect to some other arrangements in other quarters for the American issue of the book."

Initially, the British publishing house sold books and stereotype plates to Holt or had Holt sell the rights to Bentley publications in the United States. However, in 1885, Bentley also purchased Holt publications for the British market. For example, George Bentley ordered 750 copies of Henry Adam's novel *Esther* (1884): "If you will ship 'Esther' in sheets we will bind it when it come over here" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 86, pp 55-56). Moreover, in 1891, George Bentley offered to help Holt secure British copyright for their publications, if the New York firm assisted the London publisher in gaining American copyright for their works.

While the Chase Act protected Bentley's copyright in the United States, the same logistical problems that had inconvenienced the London firm's American sales and publications before the Anglo-American treaty of 1891 continued. The treaty required that "[f]irst, to claim copyright protection in the United States, a book had to [be] published there no later than it was published in its country of origin. Secondly, it had to be printed in the United States" (Feather 168). George Bentley worried about satisfying the treaty's requirements for acquiring copyright in the United States. For instance, he negotiated with Holt to print copies of Augustus W. Dubourg's *Angelica: A Romantic Drama in Four Acts* (1892) in the United States so he could fulfill the second requirement of the treaty. In addition, the novel had to have coordinated release dates in both the United States and England to fulfill the first requirement: "We will also advise you of the date of issue. If it does not cause inconvenience, the New York edition should appear about the end of March"

(*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 86, pp 55-56, 453). In a letter dated 13 February 1892, George Bentley wrote to Holt that he was not interested in selling the novel in the United States; he only wanted to secure his copyright and to prevent the reprinters from printing the novel: "the publication which takes place in America is for protective purposes only" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 86, p 453). As a result, Bentley had only 100 copies of *Angelica* printed in the United States, and he told Holt that "sale beyond one or two copies is quite immaterial [sic], and it is not necessary to send to the Press. The copies to the Librarian of Congress are most important." Under the Chase Act, copyrighted books needed to be deposited at the Library of Congress. Also, Bentley offered to return the favour to Holt, if the New York firm ever needed to copyright one of their works in England: "Before concluding, please accept our best thanks for your kind assistance in the matter. If we can at any time perform a similar service for you we shall have pleasure in doing so."

Finally, Richard Bentley and Son had a number of business transactions with John W. Lovell, who was notorious for his unauthorized printing of British novels. In sharp contrast to his earlier activities, Lovell opened a London office, in 1888, and through his London agent, Wolcott Balestier, bought the American, and occasionally Canadian, rights to British novels. Lovell arranged to pay "English authors substantial payments for the use of advance sheets of their forthcoming books. In that manner Lovell could anticipate the pirates at the same time that he salved his conscience and lined the purses of the English literati" (Stern 266). In February 1890, George Bentley offered Balestier either the moulds or stereotype plates of Matilda Betham-Edwards's *The Parting of the Ways* (1888) for twenty-eight pounds, and he inquired if Lovell would be also interested in Rhoda Broughton's *Alas!* (1889) (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 86, p 323). Lovell did not want Betham-Edwards' novel, but was interested in Broughton's. However, he required the advance sheets for Broughton's novel to be shipped as soon as possible as well as an assurance that he could publish the work by a specified date. In a letter dated 10 April 1890, George Bentley wrote that he could not guarantee that the firm would be able either to send all the advance sheets for Broughton's novel at once or to avoid delaying the date of British publication (a delay would affect the date when Lovell could publish the American edition of the novel) (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 86, p 335). Nevertheless, Bentley promised that the firm "should endeavour to study [at] your convenience as far as possible by sending on (as was done with Miss Carey's book) instalments of the work in good time."[7] On 11 April 1890, the British firm signed an agreement with Lovell to sell the Canadian and American rights to Broughton's *Alas!*, which Macmillan had previously published in 1889 and Bentley had published in 1890 (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* 33, 64, 266).[8] Five months later, George Bentley wrote to Balestier providing him with the British publication dates for four novels:

> 1890 August 21—"Name and Fame" (Sheets from Miss Sergeant)
> September 10. Lover or Friend (sheets from Miss Carey)
> September 25. House of Halliwell (sheets from W. Wood)
> October 7. Alas! (Sheets from ourselves)[9]
> (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 86, p 352)

Bentley asked Lovell not to publish the American editions of the four novels "earlier than the dates named." While Lovell bought a number of Bentley publications, George Bentley never trusted Lovell as much as other American publishers or asked Lovell to act as his proxy as he had with Henry Holt.

Initially in the 1870s, Richard Bentley and Son's American trade was handled by the Town Department, which dealt with foreign business transactions and the London branches of ~~colonial~~ booksellers and publishers (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU 1, The Foreign and Colonial Department). However, the publisher created the Foreign and Colonial Department "in 1877 to meet {cope with} the growing claims of the Colonies."[10] In a review of the Foreign and Colonial Department, produced in 1889, the writer suggested that before the establishment of the new department "the most noticeable previous activity of the Foreign section of the Town Department was shown in the United States and West Indies but the ultimate results of the large masses of shipments recorded in the Consignment Book were of an unsatisfactory nature and delayed the development of the Foreign and Colonial Department." Moreover, the review indicated that "[a] considerable loss is annually experienced at the present time by the lax administration of the Customs on the Canadian Frontier." However, Richard Bentley and Son's increasing business with Australia made up for the firm's losses in North America. In 1877, the volume of Bentley's business had shifted to Australasian and South African booksellers: "The increase of trade with Australia stimulated by the more rapid means of transit and increasing population of Australasia, and with South Africa owing to the sudden influx of capital into the English colonies there contributed largely to swell the returns of exports about this period."

Further contributing to the rapid increase in and profitability of Richard Bentley and Son's book exports was the British publisher's association with Melbourne-based George Robertson and Company and with Robertson's London manager Edward Petherick. In 1873, George Bentley accepted George Robertson's proposal that the firm produce between 35,000 and 50,000 copies of Mrs Henry Wood's novels for sale in the Australasian colonies (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel UI 49); this agreement was one of Bentley's first with a colonial company outside the transatlantic market.[11] In 1875, Petherick further proposed that the British publisher allow George Robertson to use the Bentley imprint in Australasia on "any work of good character and in keeping with your own publications" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU, 25 Nov. 1875). Robertson also offered to act as Bentley's proxy in the Australasian colonies in regards to business transactions. Moreover, in 1887, Bentley produced and Robertson distributed the Australian Library, which repackaged a number of predominantly British books, as "Australian Books and Especial Australian Editions" for Australian readers (*British Library* Add. 59629, p 40). While George Bentley acknowledged that entering the overseas English-language market in Australasia, South Africa, and India was not without risk, the potential economic rewards for the publisher were immense and outweighed the problems of transportation and communication over long distances. Furthermore, Bentley tried to limit his firm's risk by working with knowledgeable partners, like George Robertson, who could distribute his publications overseas.

While the British firm continued to rely on Robertson as an Australasian distributor into the 1890s, the creation of the Australian Library was the final major project that Bentley and Robertson worked on together. After 1887, Robertson downsized his London office, including discharging fourteen men, and focused his business on the distribution of books within Australia (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 25). According to Petherick, Robertson's actions displeased George Bentley and other London publishers "who had helped him with unlimited credit when he most required it" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 160). Even though Robertson was not the only Australasian wholesale distributor, Simpkin and Marshall, Gordon and Gotch, and other wholesale firms neither focused on book distribution nor the Australasian market.[12] Moreover, Robertson had a monopoly on the Australasian book distribution system, and there were no wholesale firms that could quickly replace him as an Australasian book distributor. Walch and Sons was the only other Australasian book distributor but the firm specialized in the Tasmanian market. Consequently, George Bentley wanted to find a replacement for Robertson. Petherick gave notice that he was leaving the London office in the summer of 1887, and shortly thereafter Bentley, Macmillan, Longman, and other prominent London firms financially supported Petherick's Colonial Book Agency, a firm that specialized in advertising and distributing British books in Australia, New Zealand, and other colonial markets. I examine Bentley's involvement in Petherick's business in the final section of this chapter, but at this point it is important to note that Bentley worked closely both with Robertson's London office, from 1870 to 1887, and with

Petherick's firm, from 1887 to 1893, to produce colonial editions and to distribute publications in the colonies.

In the 1880s and 1890s, London firms not only cooperated but also competed with other British, European, American, and colonial publishers and booksellers interested in supplying the growing international book trade. For example, Bentley competed with Macmillan for a share of the Indian and colonial market. By the mid-1880s, India had "considerably increased its import of books," and Bentley's Foreign and Colonial Department sought to supply the growing demand for books in the colony (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU 1, The Foreign and Colonial Department). However, in a letter dated 22 October 1886, George Bentley complained to Alexander Macmillan about his company's actions in asking authors—with agreements with Bentley—to sell their "Indian & Colonial" copyrights to Macmillan: "Twice this month have I received letters from Authors for who I am publishing, advising me that they have received offers from your house to publish Indian & Colonial Editions of work which I am publishing" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 86, p 119). In a letter to Frederick Macmillan dated 6 June 1894, George Bentley once again accused Macmillan of "an unfriendly act" in applying to authors under contract with Bentley to sell the colonial rights to their publications (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, p 220). Alexander and Frederick Macmillan and their firm exploited loopholes in copyright agreement between authors and their British publishers: if the publishers did not specify in the contracts that they were purchasing British *and* colonial copyright, Macmillan capitalized on this omission and tried to buy the colonial copyright from the authors.

In 1886, Macmillan either rescinded their offers to authors under contract to Bentley or proposed to compensate Bentley for Indian copyright. However, in 1894, Frederick Macmillan once again approached an author under contract to Richard Bentley and made an overture to purchase the colonial and Indian rights of his works; the author, J.M.W. Poorten-Schwartz, reported the overture to George Bentley who angrily wrote to Macmillan in protest (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, p 220). In response, Macmillan amended his proposal and asked Bentley either to work with his firm to produce colonial editions or sell Macmillan his colonial copyright. Consequently, on 8 June, George Bentley again wrote to Macmillan asking "[s]hould not your proposition have been made to us in the first instance?" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, p 221). Also, Bentley declared that "[a]ny controversy with your house is so distasteful to me, that, in reply to your of yesterday (sic) I shall content myself, as on a former occasion, by observing that our series of … Novels has in the Colonies through Messrs George Robertson & others and in India, through Messrs Thacker & others, a very large sale."[13] George Bentley recognized that both his firm and Macmillan could benefit from the growing colonial book trade. A year later, the two firms were working together, with Bentley sometimes supplying sheets or stereotype plates to Macmillan for American or colonial editions (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, pp 292, 299; Reel 43, Vol. 88, p 353). In 1895, George Bentley died and was succeeded by his son, Richard Bentley, who in 1898 sold Richard Bentley and Son to Macmillan (Gettmann 27).

Macmillan

In a letter dated 3 April 1885, George E. Brett wrote to Frederick Macmillan about meeting with Edinburgh publisher A & C Black's agent, who was passing through New York on his way to Australia: "he tells me that there is quite a little boom in England in regard to Australian business. Would you let me remind you that Australia is not a great distance from San Francisco where George occasionally goes" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 12, p 146). Brett did not want the firm to miss out on the thriving British-Australasian trade in exporting books to the colonies, and he implied that the American agency was in a unique position to take advantage of the Pacific shipping route to the colonies. Brett proposed that his son, George P. Brett, could travel to the Australasian colonies the subsequent year (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 12, p 145).[14] In 1886, George P. Brett reminded Frederick Macmillan that the firm could not rely on the continuing success of the American and British offices, and he agreed with his father that the firm needed to open distribution branches and expand business to include the Australasian colonies and southeast Asia (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, pp 54-55, 90-92). However, Frederick Macmillan did not need reminding as his brother, Maurice, had visited India and Australia, in 1885 and 1886, and reported on the flourishing book trade in the colonies (Chatterjee, "Macmillan in India" 156).[15] As a result, Frederick Macmillan readily agreed that George P. Brett should follow up on Maurice's initial visit to Australia and examine the possibility of opening distribution agencies throughout southeast Asia.

As father and son planned the trip to Australia, George P. Brett advocated that the firm consider expanding the scope of his travels to include Japan. In a letter dated 22 June 1886, he wrote to Frederick Macmillan that he had spoken to "[a] member of the firm of Iveson AJM of this city [New York] … and I learn[ed] from him that their Japanese trade is growing larger year by year and I obtained from him the promise of a list of their customers there, without intimating however that we purposed making a visit to the country" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, pp 54-55). Macmillan approved of Brett's expanded itinerary, but, in October 1886, Brett informed him that "I regret to find that the time during which I can be spared from the house here [New York] is insufficient to accomplish the trip entire, and I write to ask if you will allow me to give up, for next year, the Japanese portion, and devote the time at my disposal to Australia and New Zealand only, leaving Japan and possibly some of the Chinese Posts to the following year if you so desire" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 90). Brett proposed that he leave at the end of February 1887 and spend three months in Australia and New Zealand (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 92).[16] He promised that curtailing his trip would allow him "to give the cities of the Australian Colonies the attention and time they deserve, and I have every reason to think the results will be satisfactory to you."

As he planned his trip, Brett also wrote to Frederick Macmillan about the financial problems that both hindered the growth of the international book trade and the expansion of the firm into new territories. For example, Brett acknowledged that financial transfers between countries, especially over long distances, were practically nonexistent (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 54). While the gold standard "gave certain national currencies transworld circulation .... [a]part from limited sums of money wired by telegraph, currencies at this earlier time lacked the supraterritorial mobility made possible on a large scale later in the twentieth century by airborne shipments and transworld electronic fund transfers" (Scholte 68-69). In other words, in 1886, business lacked a secure system of transferring payments overseas. However, Brett argued in his letters to Macmillan that his trip afforded the firm the opportunity to find a solution to the problem of international financial transfers. In a letter dated June 1886, he reported to Macmillan that the firm could securely send bank drafts overseas by using a certain Scottish bank with ties to an Australian financial institution (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 54). Brett described how the Scottish and Australian banks had reciprocal arrangements where each bank honoured the other bank's drafts: "the charges made by the Scottish banks for collecting Australian drafts are 10% per cent; of which 5% per cent goes to the Scottish bank and the other 5% to the Australian bank collecting the draft." Brett noted that the firm could make use of these "reciprocal arrangements" in paying outstanding bills in the colonies, and in accepting colonial drafts against payments of book orders.

Nevertheless, Brett observed that there was still a problem in that the drafts would take time to travel between Britain and the colonies, with the delay resulting in higher interest expenses: "the money is remitted by a draft at sixty days … which taken with the time lost in transit is a loss of 140 days interest on the money" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 54). While Macmillan was willing to pay the extra interest on a draft, colonial customers did not always have the financial ability to pay the additional interest. Therefore, Brett proposed that Macmillan discount their publications for sale in the colonies, thereby making the entire transaction less expensive for the Australasian book trade (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 104). In December 1886, Macmillan agreed and sent him specially priced catalogues (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 120). Still, Brett argued that the firm needed to do more and suggested that they offer "purchasers of bills of £100 and upward especially in the cases of firms of acknowledged good credit …. bills in the Australian and New Zealand markets at 3 and four months, and occasionally in exceptional cases even six mo[nth]s." When a colonial bookseller bought books from Macmillan, the firm would write up a bill of sale that would specify the amount owed and the deadline for delivery of the books. Typically, the bills became due between a month and a month and a half after purchasing the books. Brett pointed out that Macmillan's "strict adherence to … 30 & 50 days will in some cases prevent me from effecting sales to customers perfectly worthy of credit." He believed the firm could offer colonial customers a bill of sale with a longer due date, and thereby take into account the distance and protracted transportation times between the Australasian colonies and Britain.

George E. Brett added a note to his son's letter, supporting his son's proposal: "will you permit me the suggestion that a special journey like this would afford an excellent opportunity to breaking up the objectionable system" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 122). Brett argued that the firm could use the occasion to change policy and extend the usual due date of bills of sale: "instead of 60 and 90 days I would suggest 3 and 7 months. Of course such time will only be allowed to solid men." While Brett noted that "the ideal system of business is of course ... cash," he contended that it was not a practical means of doing business in the Australasian colonies. The firm had to make allowances in their financial policies if they wanted to sell books in Australasia. Also, he discerned that offering longer due dates on bills of sale would support his son's trip: "his visit should be regarded by the Colonial trade as an event so important in itself as to be deserving of their every encouragement." Both father and son suggested that extending the due date on bills of sale was a way by which Macmillan could ensure that the trip would succeed in meeting its aims.

Frederick Macmillan decided against extending the due dates of the bills of sale to six months or for a shorter duration for colonial booksellers.[17] However, Brett broached the subject of extending due dates again while in Australia. In a letter to Maurice Macmillan dated 10 May 1887, Brett wrote that in the course of a conversation with Samuel Mullen the Melbourne bookseller argued that "'I sent £300 last month, making £700 since the first of the year and I will again remit by the end of the month or beginning of next. I never have less than £1000 of your stock in store or in transit and often much more, my business is nearly all credit many bills to my customers running six months or more'" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 190). Brett added "[i]t seems to be necessary in some cases to be lenient as regards time with customers of Mr Mullens ... it seems natural to him that the firm should give him all accommodation .... perhaps you will allow me to suggest that you might make an exception in this case." If Macmillan would not consider changing the policy, Brett wanted the firm at least to consider an exception to that policy for a good customer like Mullens.

On 12 February 1887, Brett sailed from San Francisco and arrived a month later in Sydney, New South Wales. As soon as he arrived in March, he used the developing railway network in New South Wales to visit the surrounding towns of Bathurst, Newcastle, and Maitland (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 158). Brett would spend three months in Australia and one month in New Zealand visiting a total of twenty-seven cities, towns, and hamlets. In a letter dated 9 April 1887 to Maurice Macmillan, he described the amount of travelling he was doing:

> Since last writing I have been to Newcastle and Maitland [in New South Wales] and the Railway not having been opened to Brisbane, returned to Sydney taking Steamer for this place where I arrived yesterday. The next three days being holidays, I leave tonight for Rochhampton returning here via Maryborough [in Queensland] in about a week; Townsville is I fear out of the question, as it would take another week, and although still growing … I doubt very much whether the future city of N. Queensland is as yet decided on. (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 164)

Moreover, in a letter dated 19 April 1887, Brett complained to Maurice Macmillan, who supervised Brett's Australasian trip, that travelling was taking up all his time: "The Easter holidays delayed my trip up the coast [of South Australia] considerably, the Steamer lying up for the best part of two days at small towns on the way" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 170). In a later letter written while Brett was in Hobart, Tasmania, he expressed to Macmillan his irritation that "[a]s usual the Steamer is late, the Steamers always are late I think, in this part of the world, a good deal of time has been lost in this way on this trip" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 210).

While Brett felt he wasted time travelling, he managed to visit every major city and town in Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand. In fact, his letters to Maurice Macmillan afford a snapshot of the Australasian book trade in 1887; Brett described the places and economic prospects of each city and town he visited, and provided detailed lists of the newspapers, booksellers, and schools in the colonies. For example he portrayed the trade in Marybourough, Queensland as consisting of four booksellers:

> J. Miller. good house. Small order enclosed. not very enterprising.
> W. Dawson. Good but hard to sell to … sayd [sic] he will send an order later which I think is doubtful.
> The other two booksellers are Mr, Caldwell and W. Mitchell, both in a small way. & W. M. is not good I hear.[18] (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 172)

Moreover, Brett ranked the booksellers regarding their ability to pay Macmillan. For example, he wrote that fellow booksellers advised him that "J & J Black of Toowoomba [Queensland], while rated as perfectly good and able to meet their bills, are said to dishonor drafts and money can only be collected from them by threat of suit …. If you send Blacks order I feel sure that the money could be collected, but at that distance considerable trouble and sour experience might occur" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 191).[19] Also, he described the prominent newspapers in each town and what sort of literature Macmillan could place with each paper. For example, he observed that the *Newcastle Herald and Advocate* was an eight-page newspaper: "the only one of importance [in Newcastle, New South Wales], it might be useful for receiving light literature" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, pp 164-65).

Furthermore, Brett listed in his letters to Maurice Macmillan all the school and university officials and teachers in the colonies who he thought might purchase the firm's publications and more importantly had influence over book acquisitions. For example, he determined that J. McCormack, who bought textbooks for the Newcastle school district, was "very well thought of and of some influence in the Dept., he did not like the Collins readers and would be glad to look over ours" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 165). Brett brought a number of sample books on his trip to give to booksellers, school teachers, school officials, and university professors in Sydney and Melbourne. Moreover, Brett found that officials and teachers in smaller towns were also potential customers, and he wanted to supply them with sample texts. In a letter dated 9 April 1887, he asked Maurice Macmillan to clarify the firm's instructions regarding who can have sample books: "My instructions do not state to what extent you are willing to send specimen sets of Educational books as already sent to Sydney booksellers etc, but if possible I should like to send them to both Newcastle and … Maitland, both towns are in the centre of populous and growing districts and have excellent Educational institutions" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 166).

As soon as Brett arrived in Sydney, he met with local primary, secondary, and post-secondary school officials and vigorously promoted the sale of Macmillan's line of textbooks. For example, on 24 March 1887, Brett wrote to Maurice Macmillan that he had "found the Professors [at Sydney University] very busy, it being just at the opening of the term" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 153). Brett recounted meeting with a Professor Scott who "expressed himself as very grateful to you for the many books received which are proving of great help to him in his work [and] … he is using many of our books and intended to adopt more of them finding them very satisfactory" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 154). In the 1870s, the firm diversified its catalogue by adding school texts for use "both at home and abroad" (James, "Introduction" 2). While Brett's visit included meeting with local booksellers, publishers, and wholesalers, the majority of his letters document the education system in each city and town and whom the firm should approach about acquiring their textbooks. When Brett wrote about Sydney University, he also encouraged Maurice Macmillan to supply "Mr. W" with copies of Macmillan textbooks: "it might be worth while to keep him supplied with sample copies of the books suitable for secondary and higher branches, as I gather that his influence very largely determines the books required for the … examinations" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 154). Brett added that he wished he "had more time … so that I might visit the more provincial private schools, which would I think be of service; to do this thoroughly a year could be spent in the Colonies" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 156). Moreover, he wrote that booksellers, school officials, and teachers repeatedly invited the firm to expand their sales of textbooks in the colonies. For instance, Samuel Mullen encouraged Macmillan to display their educational texts at the Centennial Exhibition in Melbourne in 1888 (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 191).

However, Brett informed Maurice Macmillan that the firm's existing textbook trade in the colonies was at risk because of the negligent distribution practices of their principal Australasian distributor, George Robertson. In a letter dated 24 March

1887, Brett wrote that in Sydney "the local bookseller is very much afraid of ordering a full supply of a book on a teacher's estimate of the number required, and much annoyance results, a short time since G.R.s [George Robertson's] branch here attempted to make a teacher pay for a number of copies of an expensive book which had been introduced and the class had not come up to the teacher's estimate" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, pp 154-55). George Robertson was Macmillan's primary distributor of educational textbooks in the colonies, but Brett feared that Robertson was not fulfilling his duties in promptly distributing textbooks. In addition, Robertson, in charging an instructor for unsold copies of a book, effected a practice that Macmillan did not condone. Brett added that in Rockhampton, Queensland, J. Wheatcroft of the Grammar School "complains that the local dealers are unable to get the books he wants in Sydney from Robertson and he is often compelled to substitute something he can get" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 171). Also, Brett wrote that "the Sample copies of School books sent to the trade" were poorly displayed in Robertson's shops: "G.R.'s are upstairs and without any order or arrangement of any kind" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 157). In another letter written to Macmillan dated 28 May 1887, Brett angrily declared

> [t]he school samples sent to G. Robertson for … Ballarat [in Victoria] have been wasted I fear, instead of sending them to the best house … they have been divided among all the booksellers large and small … I made no attempt to collect them [books] … not quite knowing how far I was as liberty to interfere with G R's arrangements; his traveller was in Ballarat during my visit and seemed to think I was taking the trade out of his hands. (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 203)

Finally, Brett reported that a Sydney school official "complains that [George] Robertson does not keep stock of the books which he requires, even after lists have been furnished him, and I hear the same complaint from other sources indeed. Eventually the house will I think be obliged to established a stock branch in the Colonies, in order to protect their school book interests which are already large" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 154).

In 1887, Robertson's business was in disarray, and he closed branches in the colonies and scaled down the London office's operations.[20] Robertson "gradually from 1886 drew out all his working capital" from his wholesale and publishing business (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 79). Brett reported to Maurice Macmillan that Robertson was trying to sell his business: "In answer to your letter of Feb 18th, I hear that G. Robertson's Adelaide branch has not [closed] … and there is no likelihood of it within a short time. They still have an agent in Brisbane who however has no stock, but simply samples of new goods to take orders from. I gather from rumours in the trade however that G.R. would be glad to sell out the whole business if a purchaser could be found" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, pp 166, 168). In Adelaide, Brett described Robertson's manager as complaining about the lack of stock (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 206). When Brett finally met Roberson in Melbourne on 10 May 1887, he confirmed that Robertson was dissatisfied with the depressed state of the book trade and "was curtailing his business" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 190).

Brett could only agree with Robertson that "business was very dead … all over the colonies" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 190). While both he and his father characterized the book trade in the colonies as "booming" before the trip, in his letters to Maurice Macmillan Brett repeatedly described the Australasian trade as depressed: "Most of the Queensland booksellers in the small towns are in very small way indeed, their stock consists of … novels chiefly and usually £200 would buy out their entire book stock, they all sell other lines as well … very few of them have direct a/co [account] with any London publishers, buying chiefly of Cassell, Ward Lock, and the Sydney wholesale houses" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 172). He added that "[b]usiness in Queensland according to all accounts is most fearfully bad" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, pp 172, 174). Moreover, Brett confided to Macmillan that business in "Melbourne is not coming up to my expectations at all" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 192). Even book orders from the larger booksellers, like Samuel Mullen, were quite small: "S. Mullen's order is not as large as I had hoped it would be" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 194). In one of his last letters to Macmillan while in the colonies, dated 28 June 1887, Brett wrote that "Invercargill and indeed the whole of New Zealand is suffering great business depression at this time, and many failures are taking place, so that great caution must be exercised in doing business here" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 212).

Despite Brett's and Robertson's observations that the Australasian book trade was depressed, Brett was still excited about the potential of both the educational textbook market and the colonial book trade in general. He mentioned that textbook sales "are already large and will continue to grow" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, pp 154-55). Moreover, he suggested that Macmillan could support the emerging colonial market and solve the distribution problems caused by Robertson "curtailing" his business by opening a stock agency in Australia. He argued that many local booksellers told him they could not buy books directly from Macmillan unless the firm could guarantee the chain of distribution and lower distribution costs. In a letter dated 19 April 1887, Brett wrote that bookseller G. S. Young and Co of Bundaburg complained about the high cost of freight from Sydney (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 170). Brett noted that "I think it but right to tell you that I am frequently asked to [convey] … upon the house the necessity of establishing an Australian stock agency" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 211). Another reason why, in the face of an economic depression, Brett felt the firm needed to invest in the colonies was the fact that other British firms were directly entering the Australasian market. He reported that in Melbourne "Mr Gould, traveling for Nelsons is here at present, also Mr Trench … Ward Locks traveller has just left here for New South Wales and Queensland. W.L. & Co travel all the small towns throughout the Colonies regularly, as do also Cassells, Griffith and Fassen, Routledge & some others" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 191).[21] Also, he observed "several long advertisements of Bentley's Publications in the papers here" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 192)

While new shipping routes and faster steamers had, by 1887, seemingly minimized the distance between the Australasian colonies and the countries in the Western hemisphere and improved British-Australasian book distribution channels, distance within the colonies was still a problem. In addition, the flow of both capital and books was further impeded by both the distances that separated cities and towns in the colonies and the "curtailing" of George Robertson's wholesale business. In suggesting an expansion that mirrored the firm's actions in 1869, when they opened their agency in New York, Brett advised Macmillan to open an Australian agency immediately in order to fill the breach caused by Robertson's lack of interest in distributing books.[22] However, perhaps because of Brett's letters describing a depressed trade, Macmillan did not employ a dedicated Australian traveller or representative until 1895, and did not open an Australian agency until 1905 (Handford xxvi). Nevertheless, the firm understood that something had to be done regarding the breakdown in the chain of distribution; still, they were not ready to compete directly in the colonial market and preferred to collaborate with a knowledgeable individual or firm to secure the distribution network. Shortly after Brett's return from the Australasian colonies, Macmillan, along with other British publishers, financed the establishment of Edward Petherick's Colonial Book Agency.

Edward Petherick and The Colonial Book Agency

Edward Petherick either gave or received notice in the summer of 1887, as the 5 August 1887 issue of *The Publishers' Circular* reported under "Trade and Literary Gossip" that he was to leave George Robertson's company and to start his own business as a "general colonial agent and export bookseller" (759). While he continued working for Robertson until February 1888 (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 2, p 276; MS 760, Box 3, p 29), he produced in September 1887 the first number of *The Torch and Colonial Book Circular*, which was a quarterly periodical "[i]ssued in connexion [sic] with my own business when it was necessary to supply Colonial booksellers and Librarians with a useful catalogue of the best books on every subject" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 1425). Whether Petherick resigned or was fired by Robertson is a matter of debate.[23] In drafts of his memoir Petherick claimed that he left only when Robertson retired (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 3), but Robertson did not retire in 1887. He closed some of his colonial branches and downsized the London agency, but he continued with his Australian bookselling operation, though reports circulated that he also wanted to sell this business (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, pp 166, 168; Petherick Collection MS 760, Box13, p 79). Moreover, shortly before Petherick's resignation or firing, he announced that "without notice … fourteen men had to be discharged" from the London agency (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 160). While Petherick was not one of the fourteen men who were fired, he bitterly recounted in his memoir that Robertson had previously closed branches in Brisbane and Auckland, and the managers in both locations before their branches closed faced "strain [that] was serious and the harassing intolerable" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 161). He implied that he also found the strain insufferable but wrote that "I was too far away to complain." Whether Petherick resigned or was let go, he noted that "Gordon & Gotch's Manager said 'it was a godsend to us,' and he engaged four of my men, packers; [but] he didn't want the managing men, having his own clerical staff" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 160). While Petherick worried about the "managing men" who could not find employment, he did not need to agonize over his own fate for long, as a group of London publishers financially supported the creation of his Colonial Book Agency and *The Colonial Book Circular*.

In 1887, George P. Brett sent word to Maurice Macmillan that George Robertson was failing to distribute their publications within the colonies (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 154). Macmillan was in a bind, as were other London firms that had previously entrusted the distribution of their Australasian book orders to Robertson; publishers needed to secure the wholesale distribution of their books both to and within the Australasian colonies. Certainly, other wholesale distribution agencies existed, such as Simpkin and Marshall and Gordon and Gotch, but Robertson had over the preceding two decades distributed the majority of the British houses' publications in the Australasian colonies. Moreover, Robertson had discouraged competitors by threatening to shut his London office when he had been the only wholesaler distributing books throughout the Australasian colonies in the 1860s and 1870s (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 120). He warned Petherick that he would leave London publishers without a colonial distributor "if any other person is supported and assisted by the British publishers to rival" the firm. Consequently, when Robertson, who had a monopoly on the Australasian book distribution system, downsized his business in 1887 there were no firms that could quickly replace him as an Australasian distributor. Furthermore, starting over and developing new business relationships with other wholesale firms would take time, and as London publishers struggled to meet the growing colonial demand for books, American publishers and others might capitalize on the inability of British publishers to supply the Australasian market.

As Robertson's London manager, Petherick was the individual with whom most London firms had done business and whom they had come to trust.

Consequently, with Petherick leaving Robertson's employment, an opportunity arose both for Petherick to replace Robertson's wholesale business with his own distributing agency and for the London publishers to support Petherick financially, and in doing so gain a level of control over the agency. In September 1876, Robertson proposed that Petherick become a partner in the firm; however, two years later, Robertson withdrew the offer of partnership and sent Petherick back to Britain as the London manager (Cullen 140). In his letters to his father, Petherick made it clear that he aspired to operate his own book distribution and publishing firm (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, pp 320-21). His memoirs and his letters do not disclose whether, in 1887, he approached London publishers about sponsoring a new distributing agency or whether Macmillan and other firms proposed that he run a distributing agency underwritten by them. What is clear is that Petherick credited London publishers with supporting the Colonial Book Agency by providing stock on credit and "small Capital, all guaranteed" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 25). Furthermore, while Petherick is acknowledged as the owner of the Colonial Book Agency, in his memoir he implied that he ran the agency for the London firms: "I ~~had~~ was started, by the London Publishers, as a distributing Agent" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 124).[24] London publishers were not yet prepared to compete directly with one another and other firms in the international market. They preferred to share the risk and financially back a knowledgeable—and respected—figure like Petherick, who knew the colonial marketplace and could run an agency that could distribute their books in Australia, New Zealand, and other overseas markets.

Petherick opened the Colonial Book Agency with £800 in capital and loans from Australian banks (Burmester 439).[25] When Petherick stopped working for George Robertson in 1888, Blackwoods, Clowes and Sons, Longman, Macmillan, and Smith Elder provided a further £500 pounds each in loans and stock, for a total investment of £2,500 in Petherick's business (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, p 80). In 1889, another four firms, John Murray, Paul Trench Tribner and Co., Routledge, and Warne and Co., offered a further £1,750 injection of capital, as the Colonial Book Agency opened distribution branches in Melbourne, Sydney, and Adelaide—markets where George Robertson had either closed or scaled back his operations.[26] While Richard Bentley is listed as contributing £500 in 1892, Petherick's letters to George Bentley in 1888 suggest that the publisher also provided starting capital and stock to the Agency. In a letter dated 3 October 1888, Petherick thanked George Bentley for "kindly help[ing] at my starting … and add[ed] the expression of my hope that the personal interest which you … have always taken in my welfare, may be fully justified, and in time meet with its recompense and reward" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU 49). Other investors in the company included British merchant S.W. Silver, who founded the India Rubber, Gutta Percha, and Telegraph Works Company.[27]

While London publishers provided Petherick with start-up capital, loans, and stock, the publishers did not control the new firm, and Petherick acted, much as Robertson had, as a middleman who purchased, typically on credit, stock from the publishers, only reimbursing them when the customer paid the agency on delivery of the book or books ordered. Also, Petherick published *The Colonial Book Circular* *and Bibliographical Record*, renamed in the second issue *The Torch and Colonial Book Circular*, as an ordering guide to selected English, American, and colonial publishers' new and old books "in all Departments of Literature, Science and Art." The *Circular* included "a useful catalogue of the best books on every subject, issued about once in three months" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 1425).

While the idea of the *Circular* was not new—it followed in the footsteps of other publisher catalogues—its scope and its intended global readership made it an instrument for selling books on a scale that had not previously been attempted. Most publishers produced buying guides of new publications, and the British, European, American, and colonial book trades all had industry catalogues and periodicals.[28] Petherick's *Circular* was a hybrid of publisher buying guides and industry periodicals: it was both a catalogue and buying guide to new and old English-language books by British, American, colonial, and European publishers. In an advertisement for the *Circular* in the May 1890 issue of *E. A. Petherick and Co's Monthly Catalogue, The Birmingham Post* is quoted as describing the *Circular* as "more than a mere list of titles of books … the volume is useful as a permanent and handy record of new English books published all over the world. No public or private reference library can be complete without these volumes, which include the titles and prices of new books" (back cover). Hedeler's *Export Journal: International Circular for the Book, Paper and Printing Trades,* which was first published in August 1887, was the only other international book trade periodical. The *Export Journal* listed new English and European book and music publications, and it included a digest of copyright laws and other topics of interest to the international book trade. However, unlike the *Circular*, the *Export Journal* was not a buying guide.

Petherick wrote in his memoir that "[t]he Publishers advertisements paid for the cost of the publication" and publishers were eager to include their publication lists in the *Circular* (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 1425). He was able to bring together over thirty different publishing companies from Australia, North America, England, Europe, and elsewhere, and present their publications in the first number of the *Circular*. In the inaugural September 1887 issue, Petherick wrote that "[o]f late years British Publishers have awakened to a knowledge of the requirements of the Colonies, and occasionally have been induced to prepare cheap early editions for sale" (3). However, he considered his *Circular* as filling a gap in the Anglo-colonial book market, as it would allow colonial and overseas readers and booksellers to order books without having to wait for inexpensive colonial editions. Additionally, Petherick offered to find for potential clients any books, whether listed in the *Circular* or not: "Search[es] will be made for 'Desiderata' in this and any other Class of Literature, English, Foreign, or Colonial, as I have correspondents in all parts of the world" (1). Moreover, he promised on the title page that the *Circular* could be "posted to any part of the world" and only "a small advance will be necessary" to order books directly through the Colonial Book Agency.

Also in the first issue of the *Circular*, Petherick reminded his reader that because "British Publishers have not always been ready to entertain proposals for cheap special editions—indeed some have been most averse to it," colonial readers sometimes found themselves without access to new publications ("Trade" 3). While he noted that four firms were presently producing colonial editions, he encouraged other publishers to create series of new books for the overseas market: "at present three or four firms are in the field with Colonial editions; Messrs. Richard Bentley and Son, with an 'Australian' Series; Messrs. Macmillan and Co, with a 'Colonial Library,' now numbering sixty volumes; Messrs. Sampson and Low and Co., have issued several volumes of their 'Favourite Standard Novels' … lastly, Messrs. Kegan Paul and Co. announce an 'Indian and Colonial Series.'" Following his own advice to British publishers to produce inexpensive series of new and popular books, Petherick started in 1889 his own imprint, E. A. Petherick and Co., and published *Petherick's Collection of Favourite and Approved Authors for Circulation in the Colonies Only*. E. A. Petherick and Co. jointly produced editions for the colonial markets with various British publishers.[29] Petherick's company also purchased sheets from publishers, which he "bound in his own style of colonial cover" (Johanson 62).[30] The distinctive red covers included on the back four images of animals that represented the four markets where Petherick hoped to sell his publications: an elephant represented India, a lion represented Africa, a kangaroo represented the Australasian colonies, and a beaver represented Canada. Initially, Petherick had envisioned his Colonial Book Agency, *Circular*, and publishing imprint as focusing on the Australasian market and readers; however, before the first number of his *Circular* was issued, he realized that the demand for English-language books was global, and he was in a position to supply booksellers and readers in the Australasian colonies, Asia, India, Africa, Britain, Europe, and North America. He hoped in the

September 1887 inaugural issue that his *Circular* would be a "little candle that any who come within reach of its rays may find … a useful and helpful guide" (1).

In 1889, Petherick's business comprised distribution, advertising, and publishing divisions, and included the London office, three branches in the Australasian colonies, and correspondents throughout North America, Europe, Australasia, and elsewhere. The London-based agency "achieved sales of ¼ million in 5 years" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, p 235; Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 124). Still, Petherick's success was tempered by increasing levels of debt. In 1892, the Colonial Book Agency's liabilities were £50,000, and this high level of debt precipitated a crisis that eventually led to bankruptcy. The tremendous success of the firm between 1887 and 1891 that led to its expansion, debt, and eventual bankruptcy is glossed over in recent histories and biographies because of a lack of surviving documentation (Cullen 4-5). However, a number of letters and legal documents in the *Richard Bentley and Son Archives*, the *Longman Archives,* and the Petherick Collection illustrate that the Colonial Book Agency did not fail simply because of Petherick's mismanagement or misfortune; the business was a victim of its own success and of some of its creditors and debtors who realized, in 1892, that they no longer needed a middleman like Petherick to distribute their publications overseas and in the colonies. Therefore, they no longer needed to keep his business afloat. When some of Petherick's guarantors refused to help refinance the company in order to rebalance his liabilities and assets, the agency was plunged into a deeper crisis.[31]

Publishing was a business of slim profit margins, more so in the realm of the international distribution of books; even though Petherick believed there was a demand for an international distributor and bookseller, the Colonial Book Agency was plagued by cash-flow problems from the outset. Initially, Petherick bought books on credit and only paid the publishers when the books were sold and payment was received from his customers. Facing the same problem as Macmillan, Petherick often had to wait months for payments because of the lack of an international monetary system and the delays caused by distance and/or transportation problems. Moreover, while publishers extended him a line of credit, he, like other borrowers, was expected to pay within a certain period; many publishers, like Macmillan, either did not want to extend their due dates on promissory notes or did not factor in the extended time that Petherick would need to collect money owed from clients that lived overseas. Furthermore, the overhead costs of maintaining the firm's global scale were not adequately redistributed: even though the shipping costs were quite high, it does not seem that Petherick marked up the price of his books accordingly. In the inaugural edition of the *Circular*, he noted that "[a]s to the prices quoted; now that the means for forwarding books are so frequent and regular, and rates of freight so low, most of the new English books are retailed in the Colonies at the published prices" (1). Petherick mistakenly assumed that the economies of scale that applied to the large shipments he had previously dispatched, while working for George Robertson, would also apply to the smaller packages the firm would distribute to individual book buyers and booksellers. Finally, as the demand for books increased, Petherick took on further loans in order to finance expansion of the Colonial Book Agency.

In a letter dated 30 April 1892, Petherick wrote to Richard Bentley about "the present position of this business, which is steadily progressing" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU 49). He reported that he was looking for a partner but had "not yet met with a partner willing to embark in colonial business, but I am getting liberal aid from my London Bankers." According to Petherick, his business had increased "steadily month by month, until our purchases are £50,000 a year, and this year, will probably be £60,000." He required an influx of capital, as he was buying books on credit to fill the escalating demand for English-language books. Consequently, he was taking on more and more debt in order to fill his orders. As he could not find a single business partner, he proposed that Richard Bentley and Son join with thirteen other London publishers who had each offered Petherick a further £500 or more "so that I [could] have at present a working capital of £8000." He hoped that Bentley would add his firm to the list—"the only first-class firm which is not yet included"—and provide the Agency with a minimum of £500. In a second letter sent to Bentley on 1 May 1892, Petherick thanked him for agreeing to his plan: "[I am] sure it will result profitably and be mutually beneficial" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU 49).

However, Petherick's cash-flow problems continued; three months after receiving the infusion of capital, he already needed more money to pay off mounting debts. In a letter to Bentley dated 12 August 1892, he wrote that "I have to face the difficulty … and, God giving me strength, I will overcome it. The difficulty must be got over permanently" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU 49).[32] Petherick asked his "sympathizing" friend's advice and pleaded with him "not [to] lose confidence in us." The "us" Petherick is referring to is both the Colonial Book Agency and the economically-depressed Australasian book trade: "Surely I am not to be allowed to fail! …. we are ourselves sustaining so many there [in Australasia] perhaps and probably to our own detriment." In continuing to supply books to booksellers and readers who could not immediately reimburse Petherick for their purchases, he was left with escalating debts that he could not pay; nevertheless, he argued with Bentley that the firm had to support the trade; otherwise, the entire market could collapse. Petherick added that just "[b]ecause we have used Bank money or received Banker's accommodation instead of invested capital, the business is not less legitimate, or profitable."[33] Finally, he noted that George Robertson had been granted a great deal of bank and publisher credit in the past, and he "was not doing more 'book' business than we are doing at present—and that [previous] accommodation was given by Bankers and Publishers upon no security at all."

While Petherick assumed Richard Bentley was a sympathetic friend, who wanted to help him and his firm, Bentley argued against the London publishers propping up the Colonial Book Agency any further in letters to Hubert Longman: "the proposition seemed to defer the crisis but not to cope with it" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU 3, p 11, 10 August 1892).[34] Interestingly, Bentley worried that if the publishers loaned any more money to Petherick, they would in effect own the Colonial Book Agency, and they would be in direct competition with other wholesale firms that supplied the Australasian market. However, Bentley's objection, which would become clearer in successive letters to Longman, was not that the London firms should not compete directly for a share of the Australasian market but that they did not need to invest and potentially risk any more money on Petherick's venture (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, p 71). The firm had outlived its usefulness as an international distributor of British publications. Robertson, Petherick, and others had established the channels of distribution between Britain and distant book markets, like Australasia, as well as pioneered the use of new communication and transportation technologies to advance the international book trade. Their actions had paved the way for the London publishers to directly market, sell, and distribute their own publications overseas.

In a letter dated 20 August 1892, Richard Bentley wrote to Hubert Longman about Petherick's proposal to "shift the burden from the shoulders of the Australian firm to those of the guarantors," arguing that the plan was flawed as it would result in creditors sinking "further capital into the venture" with little chance of recovery (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, p 41). He stated the creditors could only recoup their investments if "there were a surplus in winding up the estate." However, a surplus was unlikely and Bentley contended "that the creditors cannot increase their capital in the Colonial Book Agency when the company is in so much financial difficulty." Furthermore, Bentley believed that the firm's future was in doubt, regardless of whether the London publishers offered Petherick a further infusion of capital, because "[s]o many different interests are concerned that other complications are likely." For example, he pointed out the Federal Bank of Australia "owing to the tightness in the Australian Market (just now depressed) might call in its overdraft."[35]

Bentley responded to Petherick's request, on 16 September 1892, stating that he had written to Mr. Longman about both asking the creditors to increase their holdings in the Colonial Book Agency and passing a binding resolution on the creditors to accept a schedule for payment of debt (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, pp 48-50). Bentley and Longman wanted neither to antagonize the other creditors by forcing their hands nor did they wish to increase their holdings in the firm and become Petherick's guarantors. While Bentley's response to Petherick stressed his intention of working with him and the firm's creditors, his letters to Longman made no mention of trying to find a solution to Petherick's mounting debt. Bentley's first letter to Longman was primarily concerned about whether the creditors would be able to recover the money they had lent to Petherick to start the business.

In January 1893, Petherick agreed to relinquish ownership in favour of the firm becoming "a Limited Company with £50,000 capital," in which investors could purchase shares (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, p 81). Bentley reported to Longman that "the majority of the guarantors favour … the scheme" and that the resolution passed at the January meeting of the creditors and guarantors of the Colonial Book Agency. However, Bentley argued in a letter to Longman that with "special knowledge at our command of the status of Mr. Petherick's affairs" neither publisher should lend their names to the formation of a company without assets (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, pp 78-79). He doubted any prospective shareholders would come forward and asked Longman how much longer "are we warranted in keeping the general creditors in the dark." Apparently the creditors had not been apprised of Petherick's complete lack of funds at previous meetings. Bentley added that five months had passed since the start of the crisis and there was little expectation of benefit arising from the latest attempt to save the firm. Finally, Bentley wrote that he was going to take independent action and send Petherick a formal claim for the amount owing his firm, £500 (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, p 81). In January 1893, Bentley sent Petherick a formal claim for monies owed and a letter that warned that until the bill was paid the firm could no longer supply him with any more books (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, p 82).

While Bentley argued that the "difficulties of the firm cannot be overcome," other publishers initially supported Petherick (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, p 127). In an account of Petherick's financial problems, Richard Bentley, or one of his employees, recounted that "from July to December [1892] we alone advised caution in dealing with the matter, all the other houses taking a different view .... In February 1893 they however adopted a common mode of action similar to our own" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, p 115).[36] Initially, Longman, Macmillan, and Heinemann wanted to protect Petherick from bankruptcy. In a letter dated 8 October 1892, Richard Bentley wrote to George Hubert Longman asking to defer his official response to the proposal of the other London firms to refinancing the Colonial Book Agency in order to give him time to confer with his father (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, p 52). Richard Bentley was "very reluctant to cause even the appearance of any hindrance to the favourable progress of a matter upon which so much time and consideration have been bestowed," but he was not going to agree to the proposal that he and his father felt would only delay the inevitable failure of the business. While Bentley argued that the publishers could only postpone Petherick's bankruptcy, Longman and Heinemann attempted to broker a deal to protect Petherick and his firm from economic failure. William Heinemann was one of the publishers who favoured loaning Petherick further capital, and he suggested "floating a company" or reorganizing the existing firm as a limited company so the London publishers became the sole owners and Petherick their employee (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, p 84). In a letter dated 25 January 1893, Richard Bentley promised William Heinemann that his firm would not "take any stringent step against him [Petherick] unless, indeed, some circumstances … arose to compel action on our part in defence [sic] of our interests."

At the end of January 1893, Longman and other publishers realized that Petherick's "total want of capital" left the Colonial Book Agency in a precarious position, which was made worse when Petherick's largest creditor, the Federal Bank of Australia, failed (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, p 71). Suddenly, Petherick lost his main line of credit, his loan of approximately £10,000 was called in, and his company was spun further into crisis. By late 1893, Petherick's business had for all intents and purposes ground to a halt because of a lack of stock.[37] At a later meeting of guarantors and creditors, on 5 July 1894, Petherick stated that "they had no stock; for the last 8 months they had positively no supplies, and for the last 22 [months] very scanty. The stock at Melbourne had run down from £40,000 to

£20,000: £2,000 or £3,000 of which were on sale or return" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, pp 234-35). Moreover, publishers demanded Petherick return any of their books that he had still not sold. For example, George Allan warned Petherick that he had to return any unsold stock and make regular payments to his firm; otherwise, legal proceedings would be brought against the Colonial Book Agency for the £400 Petherick owed him (*Archives of George Allen and Co.* Reel 1, Vol. 2, p 278).[38] By February 1893, the London publishers reluctantly supported Richard Bentley's assertion that the firm could probably not be saved.[39] A claim for monies owed was sent a year later, on 23 April 1894, from Longman, Routledge, Macmillan, Warne and Co., George Bell, and other publishers, who appointed representatives with instructions to use "all legal and effectual means to recover and receive all of the assets of the said debtor in Victoria or elsewhere in Australia" (*Longman Archives* Reel 65, Vol. N132, Aus). The document ends with a schedule of creditors that includes Longman, who was owed the most at slightly over £1,903. Longman and the other publishing houses sought not only to secure their initial investments but also to claim Petherick's Australian assets through Edward Dickson and John Kiddle, their Australian solicitors.

However, at a meeting of guarantors and creditors in July 1894, Petherick sought a last-minute reprieve from bankruptcy, asking creditors to delay bills for six months or to give him £5,000 to attempt to get the company back up and running (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, pp 234-35).[40] Also, Petherick reported that he had tried again to refinance his debt and reestablish a line of credit at the Federal Bank of Australia. The Federal Bank, having been suspended earlier in the year, gave "no satisfactory answer" to the question of the £10,000 Petherick still owed. The Colonial Book Agency's total liabilities were estimated at £47,000, and the company had ceased to operate for the previous eight months because of the lack of stock.[41]

According to Bentley's notes of the July meeting, Petherick made a statement in which he argued that "the Backers had told him only yesterday that it was only necessary for him to get the business taken over by a syndicate of 12 leading London Publishers to admit of every facility being afforded to him" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, pp 234-35). In other words, Petherick felt that the Colonial Book Agency was still viable, if ownership was transferred to a syndicate that included his largest creditors and guarantors. However, none of guarantors or creditors were willing to follow up on any of his suggestions. Moreover, after hearing that George Allen intended to file proceedings against Petherick, they unanimously moved to file a petition of bankruptcy in court.

A newspaper clipping in the *Richard Bentley and Son Archives* of a *Daily Chronicle* article reported that following the 5 July meeting, Petherick's creditors, represented by Longman, petitioned the court on 20 July 1894 for the Colonial Book Agency to be put into receivership (Richard *Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, p 238). Another clipping from *The Standard* on 6 April 1895 detailed Petherick's request for an order of discharge from bankruptcy and the ruling of the receiver (Richard B*entley and Son Archives* Reel 36, Vol. 73, p 213). The receiver stated that less than ten shillings to the pound would be paid to Petherick's creditors. The receiver also charged that "the Bankrupt had traded after knowledge of insolvency," but Petherick's lawyer, Mr. Trinder, argued that this allegation was just a case of "excessive trading": Petherick had kept on selling books, even after it was apparent that he was insolvent, in an attempt to recover the capital needed to pay the creditors. The court accepted Petherick's defence regarding "the offence of trading after knowledge of insolvency" and suspended the order of discharge from bankruptcy for "the minimum statutory period of two years."[42]

While Longman, Heinemann, and other publishers resisted forcing Petherick into bankruptcy and preferred to utilize the wholesale agency to distribute their books internationally, Richard Bentley argued that the inherent risks with continually loaning larger sums of money to the Colonial Book Agency were not balanced by the return on investment. When the firm was established in 1887, London publishers needed both to replace George Robertson as the chief distributor of British books in the Australasian colonies and to find a figure who was knowledgeable of the distribution networks and the colonial and overseas markets. Petherick's initial success with the company only confirmed that even if the international economy was depressed, people continued to buy books. However, the Colonial Book Agency's success was offset by Petherick's repeated requests for further loans and guarantees in order to keep the business afloat. Therefore, London publishers were faced with the reality that their investments in the firm were not paying off: Petherick was irregularly collecting money from book buyers, and they were not getting paid for their publications. If publishers wanted to improve the flow of capital between Australasian book buyers and British publishers, they would be better off dealing with the booksellers and book buyers directly. Certainly, after the bankruptcy of the

Colonial Book Agency, a number of the London firms hired travellers to sell their publications overseas. For example, in 1895, Macmillan employed a representative to sell the firm's publications in Australia (Handford xxvi). Similarly, in 1896, Longman and Bentley engaged an Australian representative to sell and promote jointly their publications in the colonies (*Longman Archives* Reel 65, Vol. 132, p Aus 3). The publishers utilized the distribution networks and infrastructure that Petherick had set up first under George Robertson's employment and second with the development of the Colonial Book Agency to wholesale their own publications in the international book trade.

Conclusion

Pierre Bourdieu contends that agents compete for control of the market within the literary field, and the agents who are richest in all forms of capital will be able to exploit new positions and opportunities. However, within the late nineteenth-century international book trade, the British firms with the funds and the production facilities necessary to increase the supply to meet the growing global demand for books did not have knowledge of the local colonial and foreign markets. Also, when many British publishers were initially reluctant to enter certain colonial and overseas markets, their foreign and colonial counterparts developed international distribution networks. As a result, the power dynamics within the late nineteenth-century international book trade cannot simply be explained in terms of a binary of dominant and dominated positions. British publishers had financial and cultural capital but lacked knowledge of the international market; by contrast, colonial and foreign publishers and booksellers were deficient in financial and cultural capital but had knowledge of overseas markets and distribution practices. As a result, the relationship between them was initially characterized by collaboration and cooperation, until British firms were able to overcome their lack of knowledge.

Moreover, the early interactions between British publishers and colonial and foreign book trades helped to establish the infrastructure needed to promote the growth of the international book trade. For example, George Robertson's desire in the 1850s to guarantee an inexpensive and regular supply of British books for the Australasian market eventually led to him exploiting incidents of book piracy in order to raise awareness of the colonial book trade. Succeeding in raising the profile of the Australasian book trade, but failing to garner a regular supply of books for the colonial market, Robertson changed tactics and opened a London distribution branch. In the late nineteenth century, Robertson and his London manager, Edward Petherick, repeatedly engaged their British colleagues as they purchased books for the Australasian market and approached publishers about creating books especially for this market. Robertson and Petherick influenced how the established book trade regarded the colonial market; they convinced British, American, and European publishers that the colonies represented an untapped market for English-language books. In turn, British, American, colonial, and other publishers and booksellers recognized the growing *international* demand for books in foreign markets such as China and Japan. In the late nineteenth-century field of literary relations, agents influenced one another in a constitutive manner, with each new connection leading to the further development of the international book trade. The potential for multiplying, rupturing, or newly establishing rhizomic networks that made up the international book trade was not confined to developing distribution channels but stretched to include the agents themselves. Individuals, like Edward Petherick, George Robertson, and George P. Brett, and companies, like Bentley, Macmillan, and Longman, were also part of the infrastructure that enabled the growth of the international book trade.

In the late nineteenth century, tangible improvements in communication and transportation further supported the growth of the international book trade. Initially, colonial and foreign firms used the rapidly improving transportation system to develop the book distribution network between England and its colonies. Small colonial and American firms took advantage of technological innovations, like the telegraph and telephone, that allowed them to compete with the larger and more established firms. Traditional British publishing houses were not slower in taking advantage of new technology; however, they were primarily interested in advancements that would improve the production and distribution of books first for the local or national level, and secondly, by the mid nineteenth century, for the transatlantic market. However, as the book trade networks within the field of international literary relations continued to develop, and firms collaborated and cooperated in order to secure the supply of books for the overseas markets, British publishers—who represented the most established and generally wealthy producers of English-language books—began to take an interest in international distribution. In the 1880s, the Australasian colonies had become a larger market for English publications than the United States, and British publishers, who were doing business with Robertson and other colonial wholesale distributors, realized that the colonies and foreign markets presented an opportunity for future growth and profit.

When Robertson curtailed his distribution business in 1887, British publishers, like Bentley, Longman, and Macmillan, financially backed Petherick's Colonial Book Agency. Petherick had pioneered a faster British-Australasian distribution network while working for Robertson, and British publishers, still lacking knowledge of the colonial markets and distribution practices, readily offered Petherick loans, credit, and stock. However, by the early 1890s, a number of British publishers also had representatives and, in the case of the United States, branches in overseas markets. Their activities mirrored the earlier actions of their colonial counterparts, who had, in the 1850s and 1860s, opened London offices to facilitate the production and distribution of books for the overseas markets. Just as George Robertson and others had found their London offices to be effective in improving the supply of books for the Australasian colonies, British publishers discovered that having local representatives and agencies in the United States, Canada, Australasia, India, and Africa helped the firms to tailor their production and distribution practices to meet the needs of the local markets.

A result of British publishers engaging representatives, or opening foreign and colonial branches, was that they no longer needed the wholesale firms and middlemen like George Robertson and Edward Petherick to sell and distribute their publications overseas. Consequently, when Petherick's Colonial Book Agency had financial difficulties in the early 1890s, Bentley and other British publishers were reluctant to offer the wholesale firm any financial aid. In a letter to Longman, dated 16 January

1893, Richard Bentley recognized that his house no longer needed Petherick's expertise and that Bentley would realize no material benefit by supporting a proposal to keep the Colonial Book Agency financially afloat (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, p 71).

Finally, in the 1890s, as British and American publishers established foreign offices, the firms developed from local or national businesses into international operations. For example, in 1869, Macmillan was one of the first British firms to open an American office; by the early twentieth century, Macmillan had offices in New York, Chicago, Dallas, Boston, Atlanta, and San Francisco (Morgan 164). Also, the firm officially opened branches in Australia in 1904 and Canada in 1905, although the firm had operated unofficially in both countries since the 1880s (165-66).[43] International publishing houses no longer needed the wholesale agencies to distribute books overseas. Also, these international corporations competed with local publishers and booksellers that they had previously relied on to distribute their books and to participate in joint publications for the colonial and foreign markets. Colonial and foreign publishing firms were also at a disadvantage in terms of the economies of scale: international companies could produce and distribute books at a lower cost than the smaller firms because they produced and shipped larger quantities of books. As a result of lower production costs, international publishing houses could offer books at a lower price than their local competition. While cooperation between the established publishers and colonial and foreign firms waned during the 1890s, it is important to note that collaborative practices and agreements did not completely disappear. Nevertheless, by 1895 many of the colonial wholesale firms that developed in the second half of the nineteenth century, like George Robertson's and Edward Petherick's companies, had either failed or refocused on the local and national markets.

Notes

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[1] Victoria was the first colony to introduce free, compulsory, and secular education with the Education Act 1872. However, compulsory religious education in Victoria and the other colonies had existed since the early nineteenth century.

[2] Robertson's publisher discounts ranged from ten to sixty percent depending on the quantity of books purchased for the Australasian market. Robertson was the major book distributor in the Australasian colonies and the other distributors, including Walch and Son, could not command the same discounts as Robertson, who controlled the market.

[3] Richard Bentley and Henry Colburn started a publishing firm in 1829 (Gettmann 15). After an acrimonious split, the partnership dissolved and in 1832 Richard Bentley became an independent publisher (22).

[4] I will refer to George Bentley's son simply as Richard Bentley throughout the rest of the chapter.

[5] Capitalization in the original letter.

[6] Bentley had first published Thisted's novel in 1866. The new edition contained a preface by novelist and poet George MacDonald. Funk and Wagnall published the novel in 1886.

[7] Bentley had previously sold Lovell the unbound sheets to Rosa Nouchette Carey's melodramatic novel *Lover or Friend* (1890).

[8] Lovell paid Bentley £100 "as an advance or guarantee upon royalties," which represented ten percent of the retail price (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 33, Vol. 64, p 266).

[9] Quotation marks and underlining in the original letter.

[10] Braces in the original document.

[11] Please see the third chapter for a review of all of the Bentley and Robertson business agreements.

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[12] There were six wholesale and distribution firms based in London in 1887 (Cullen 187).

[13] Bentley's letters to Macmillan were written, in June 1894, approximately one month before Petherick's creditors, including Macmillan and Bentley, petitioned the court to put the Colonial Book Agency into receivership. Petherick had stopped selling and distributing books by December 1893, so it is fair to assume that Bentley had to find other distributors for his books. In 1894, Robertson was once again distributing Bentley's publications in the Australasian colonies.

[14] George E. Brett noted that the arrangements for his son's trip could be made through the "Indian office" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 12, p 145). He probably referred to the Indian department—managed by Maurice Macmillan—because he was aware that Maurice Macmillan had visited Australia earlier in 1885 and 1886, and he could provide George P. Brett with letters of introduction to "many of the most influential men" in the book trade (Chatterjee, "Macmillan in India" 156).

[15] Maurice Macmillan combined "a marriage tour with a business inspection of Australia and India where he made a point of meeting many of the most influential men in the various education departments … [he] was convinced of the potential for a successful series of school books" for the colonies (Chatterjee, "Macmillan in India" 156).

[16] Brett added that an outbreak of cholera in Japan discouraged him from travelling there the next year (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 92).

[17] It is unclear whether extending the bill of sale for trusted foreign and international customers was a common practice. Neither George Bentley, Edward Petherick, nor George Robertson ever mentioned extending due dates on bills of sale in their letters, though other firms must also have encountered the same problem of distance impeding financial transactions. Indeed, George Robertson established a London agency in part to get more favourable rates and discounts from British publishers, who were more likely to offer discounts to booksellers who could pay promptly and in cash (Weedon 18-19).

[18] Underlining in the original letter.

[19] Underlining in the original letter.

[20] Petherick argued that "[t]he autocratic George Robertson had been pursuing for years a retrogressive policy, which eventually wrecked a grand business. He said he 'could invest his money to better purpose'" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 124).

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[21] Brett related to Maurice Macmillan the story that Mr. Trench "kindly gave his fellow passengers [on the steamer] an insight into publication methods in the form of an evening lecture" (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 192).

[22] In 1867, Alexander Macmillan visited the United States and found that other British firms were opening American distribution agencies. Macmillan argued that the firm needed to establish a presence in the United States in order better to compete with the other British firms that had opened American agencies, as well as to market directly and sell books in the United States. The firm decided to open an American branch in New York two years later (Nowell-Smith 19; James, "Letters" 171).

[23] Petherick offers different reasons for why he left Robertson's employee (Petherick Collection CP 740, 6, 14, aa1980, 200).

[24] Word struck out in the original.

[25] Approximately £800 would equal £57,600 today.

[26] George P. Brett reported to Maurice Macmillan that the publishing firms Routledge, Nelsons, Ward Lock and Co., Cassells, and Griffith and Fassen all had travellers regularly visiting the Australasian colonies (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 191). Interestingly, of the five companies only Routledge provided financing for the Colonial Book Agency. There are no records that the other four firms that Brett mentioned provided either loans or stock; as such, a minority of publishers were directly entering the international book trade as early as 1887, and it can be surmised that they did not believe that they needed to work with distributors like Petherick.

[27] Silver and Petherick co-authored *The Catalogue of the York Gate Library Formed by S. William Silver* (1882), which was first published by John Murray. Also, he loaned Petherick £2,000 towards the establishment of the Colonial Book Agency, and advertised his *Handbooks for the Colonies* in *The Torch and Colonial Book Circular*.

[28] Petherick produced catalogues for George Robertson before and after becoming the London manager, and also published catalogues of the York Gate library, and Australasian books and maps (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 13).

[29] Publishers with whom Petherick worked include William Heinemann, James R. Osgood, McIlvaine and Company, Kegan, Paul, Trench and Co., Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, Longman, Ward and Downey, Chatto and Windus, Fisher Unwin, and George Allen.

[30] Johanson's statement, that Petherick was the first publisher to rely "entirely on colonial editions [of British books] to support a publishing business" (63), needs qualification, for E. A. Petherick and Co. also produced books either by colonial authors or about the British colonies, which were for the colonial, British, American,

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and other markets. For example, in 1889, Petherick published *A Journey to Lake Taupo and Australian and New Zealand Tales and Sketches* by Percy Russell without a British partner. Petherick advertised his publications in *The Torch and Colonial Circular*, noting in the December 1888 issue that his publications would "be forwarded, carriage paid, to any part of the World for the price quoted" (38).

[31] However, it must be said that other publishers, like William Heinemann, wanted to keep Petherick's business afloat as they still regarded him as an invaluable resource, and they did not want to take over the Agency, preferring to keep Petherick in charge of it.

[32] Underlining in original letter.

[33] Petherick is referring to the fact that he had started the Agency with bank and publisher loans and credits, rather than using his own capital to fund the launch of the company.

[34] Underlining in original letter.

[35] Bentley's letter to Longman ends with a note that "news of the suspension of the Federal Bank reached England by telegraph January 30 1893" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, p 41).

[36] While Bentley declined to become the Agency's guarantor, his refusal was one of formality as the firm had already in May 1892 acquiesced to Petherick's request to lend the Agency £500. This loan placed the London publisher in the role of both guarantor and creditor of the Colonial Book Agency (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU 49, 1 May 1892, Petherick). Bentley did not want to guarantee or write off any more of Petherick's debts.

[37] In 1894, *The Torch and Colonial Book Circular* ceased publication because of Petherick's lack of capital and growing debts. Petherick was still producing colonial editions under the E. A. Petherick and Co. imprint in 1894, although as part of his bankruptcy proceedings he sold his colonial library to one of his creditors, George Bell, "who expanded it for another fourteen years" (Johanson 63).

[38] Petherick had apparently written to Allen asking if he could keep the books in order to try to sell them. Allen argued that "I cannot and I will not waiver on any responsibilities in the matter of this agency" (*Archives of George Allen and Co.* Reel 1, Vol. 2, p 278).

[39] Negotiations between Petherick, guarantors, and creditors continued for another year before other publishers forced the Agency into bankruptcy (*Longman Archive* Reel 65, Vol. N132, Aus).

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[40] In letter to Petherick dated 16 March 1894, Richard Bentley apologized for the delay in matters but reported that "to the present moment no independent report on the state of the business and the causes of its present conditions has been issued by any accountant on behalf of the committee—and there also appear to be some provisions in the document itself which are open to objection" (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, p 203). The committee of creditors and guarantors, including representatives for Longman, Routledge, and Macmillan, charged with issuing a report on the Agency's financial status and the means by which Petherick could refinance or repay his debts, struggled to write the report. Bentley disagreed with existing provisions in the proposed committee report that allowed a majority of creditors, who might have small claims against Petherick, to out-vote a minority of creditors, who might have larger claims against the Agency.

[41] In the 1890s, a series of depressions in Australia, the United States, Canada, and Europe occurred that affected the international economy (Macintyre 129). Consequently, Petherick's Colonial Book Agency was also a victim of unlucky timing as depressions deterred any further growth of the international book trade and lead to a sharp decline in the colonial demand for books.

[42] Petherick lost everything in the bankruptcy, though "[a]n extensive private library which he had collected in order that he might compile a national bibliography of Australasia and Polynesia was, by the aid of friends, saved from the wreck of his business" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 17).

[43] Macmillan opened a branch in Bombay, India in 1901 (Handford xxvi).

Conclusion

Between 1870 and 1895, the field of international literary production and distribution was in a state of upheaval, as agents like Edward Petherick challenged and crossed both real and imagined boundaries that had previously constrained the development of the international book trade. The first boundary Petherick traversed was the physical distance that separated himself and his family. He recognized that an immense distance separated London and Melbourne; still, this distance was surmountable if one imagined the world not as isolated pockets of humanity but as an interconnected network of rooms: "After all what is this world? Only a lot of ante-rooms in which we dodge about before entering the next. In that we can all meet, be it soon or late" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, p 120). He comforted himself with the thought that no one was ever that far from their loved ones and that distance only temporarily separated him from his family and home in Melbourne. Moreover, Petherick's architectural metaphor illustrates the rhizomic development of the international book trade. Agents had to think about the world not as a vast geographical expanse but as a negotiable space; they needed to conceptualize the world as a series of interconnected rooms through which they could exchange ideas and commodities. Petherick's "ante-rooms" were assembly points in a rhizomic network that generated further "ante-rooms" as the social networks of agents involved in the field of international relations expanded. As agents became aware of and interested in the international book trade, the growth of social networks had a transformative effect on the literary field and enabled the further crossing of social, cultural, political, and technological boundaries.

Petherick, himself, is a node within a rhizomic network of "ante-rooms," and his correspondence maps the rapid growth of rhizomic networks in the field of international literary production and distribution. His letters document the growing interest of British, European, and colonial publishers and authors who wanted to participate in the international book trade. Also, his letters to his father detail his experiments to find faster shipping routes between Britain and the Australasian colonies and to utilize the telegraph to communicate with the Melbourne office. Moreover, his letters reveal the frantic, productive pace of Robertson's London branch and Petherick's Colonial Book Agency as both offices struggled to keep up with the escalating demand from both colonial booksellers wanting to purchase books and British, European, and North American publishers and authors who wanted sell their publications overseas:

> Shipments, monthly, fortnightly, weekly, parcels of papers by post by various routes overland and by sea—big cases and some times hundreds by each steamer and sailing vessel averaging six tons a day! to all ports in Australia and Australasia. This for 25 years occupied my attention besides the reading of reviews, and perusal of all the new books, a daily and hourly work, selecting and ordering them, and apportioning them to our branches and correspondents—Mail in Monday morning with half a dozen or more big packets of orders, remittances from Melbourne, besides smaller dispatches from less correspondents …. Letters to write, answers and reports to get. Replies and acknowledgements, invoices, contents of every parcel by post or case, of every case—summaries of everything to 6. o'clock Friday with my own Official and Confidential Letters—Lists of all new books submitted, ordered or declined—This and a hundred details completed by 7 pm Friday, for post closing" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p157).

Petherick was a node within a growing international network continually connecting and reconnecting in processes of production and consumption as he bought books and sold books, as he wrote to authors and publishers to persuade them to sell books in the colonies, and as he signed agreements with authors and publishers to produce colonial editions. He describes the constant flow of mail and parcels monthly, weekly, daily, and hourly streaming in and out of Robertson's London office and his own Colonial Book Agency premises over a twenty-five-year period; the relentless circulation of books, parcels, and letters demonstrates Petherick's success in encouraging others to participate in the international book trade. Moreover, each book, parcel, and letter that he describes buying, sending, and writing is also a rhizomic agent, because each one connects to other agents in the field of international literary production and distribution; as Petherick's purchases, packages, and correspondence circulate, they are bought, received, and responded to by other agents. The literary field expands as books are produced and consumed.

Petherick is only one node in one network in the rapidly developing international book trade; other agents in other networks, such as George E. Brett and George P. Brett, were also testing geographical and commercial boundaries. The Bretts proposed that Macmillan had to expand beyond European and North American markets before the firm lost its competitive edge following the entry of other publishers into the overseas markets for English-language books (*Macmillan Archives* Reel3, Vol. 13, pp 54-55). The Bretts did not develop new trade routes like Edward Petherick and George Robertson, but they did recognize the opportunity new markets in Australasia and Asia afforded Macmillan. George E. Brett made a point of telling Frederick Macmillan that other firms were selling books in Japan, Singapore, and other Asian markets and that Macmillan should follow suit. Maurice and Frederick Macmillan were already interested in the international market and readily agreed that

Brett's son, George P. Brett, should visit Australasia in 1887 in order to follow up on contacts that Maurice Macmillan had made on a brief trip to India and the colonies two years previous.

As my study demonstrates, publishers and wholesalers interested in the international book trade had to overcome or circumvent political impediments to the international circulation of books and commodities, such as book piracy and a lack of international copyright protection. The trade also had to develop reliable transportation and communication strategies. They also had to find solutions to the lack of financial transfers between countries, especially over long distances. However, confronting the social, cultural, political, and technological limitations that constrained the development of the international economy did not guarantee firms would be successful in the international book trade. While Petherick often wrote about the growing demand of colonial and foreign readers for English-language books in his correspondence, his letters also illustrate that supplying this increasing demand for books was not a guarantee of success, because too many political and economic factors impinged on the shape of international print economy.

When Petherick opened the Colonial Book Agency in September 1887, he was confident about the business's future, boasting in his memoirs that all the major London publishing houses were eager to finance the distribution firm (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 13, p 25). Petherick's enthusiasm for the international book trade was contagious, and the idea of an international book trade spread throughout Britain, multiplying and extending to engulf European, North American, colonial, and foreign publishers, authors, distributors, and others in the book trade. The Colonial

Book Agency and Petherick 's *Torch and Colonial Book Circular* developed in the 1880s to provide services explicitly for this expanding international print economy. Petherick's friends and business associates wanted to participate in this "booming" international book trade and therefore invested in the Colonial Book Agency.

Nineteenth-century publishing in Britain, Europe, and North America was about personal relationships established between publishers, authors, and others in the trade. Because George Bentley and his family were friends of Petherick, they invested in the Colonial Book Agency (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel IU 49, 3 Oct. 1888 , Petherick). George Bentley, Herbert Longman, and others lent Petherick capital and provided the Colonial Book Agency with stock because they needed to replace George Robertson, who had downsized his London office, as their British-Australasian distributor. Desire to preserve their share of the Australasian market and/or enter the international market also played a role in the publishers financing the Colonial Book Agency. However, Petherick's friendship with Bentley, Longman, and other publishers also influenced their decision both to inject capital into the distributing firm and to ignore their growing trepidation regarding the Colonial Book Agency's questionable finances and lack of profit.

In 1893, Petherick, realizing that his friends had lost patience with his requests for further capital and for time to turn the business around, presented a business plan to turn the company from a private venture supported by the London firms into a limited-liability joint-stock company—the forbearer of the modern corporation (*Richard Bentley and Son Archives* Reel 42, Vol. 87, p 81). Petherick realized, too late, that a traditionally-organized company, such as the Colonial Book Agency, with a single owner who owed money to a circle of family, friends, and colleagues could not raise the funds necessary to continue operating internationally. Family-run firms were encumbered by the very relationships that that had supported the development of the international book trade: "Partnerships were fragile creations" that were prey to misfortune and distance (Micklethwait and Wooldridge 45). Initially, the majority of Petherick's creditors supported his proposal; however, Petherick could not find new investors willing to risk their funds on a bankrupt business and the Colonial Book Agency failed. He realized too late that the international book trade demanded a business structure that could more easily adapt to the demands of a global market. The organization of many publishing and distributing firms was a deterrent to international trade as traditionally-structured firms could not overcome the distance that often separated both one office from another and a publisher from his markets. The use of the telegraph had improved overseas communication but instant, regular communication over distances was still impossible. Furthermore, as publishers and distributors competed in the 1890s for a share of the international book trade in English-language books, firms found that the international transfer of funds was problematic. Finally, firms operating in the international sphere often needed large reserves of capital in order to weather downturns in the various local, regional, national, and international economies within which the company had investments or business.

While the book trade eagerly participated in the growing international economy, their businesses were often modelled on an anachronistic vision of publishers, booksellers, and wholesalers as family-run firms. The firm as a family-run concern was a conservative understanding of the company that quickly lost favour in many industries as it was surpassed by businesses run by experts and professional managers in the nineteenth century (Micklethwait and Wooldridge 39-54). The family-run company was a centralized business that had as its investors typically relatives and friends, and the problem with this type of company was it was not a flexible organization that could easily adapt to the changing economy that saw the book trade increasingly becoming an international business. Moreover, while many businesses developed or were reorganized in other industries as modern joint-stock limited-liability companies during the course of the late nineteenth century, the traditional business structure of a family-run, centralized firm continued as the primary organizing unit of the book trade into the twentieth century.

However, Macmillan defied the status quo within the print industry that saw firms organized as family-run enterprises. While Macmillan started as a family-run firm, Frederick and Maurice Macmillan hired a professional manager in George E. Brett to run their American branch and gave Brett a certain amount of autonomy to run the business. Macmillan adapted and diversified as commerce changed in the nineteenth century and as international trade demanded a company be flexible enough to both accommodate multiple markets and finance large capital flows. Macmillan New York became a joint-stock company in 1891 when the American branch became a separate business: “George Craik, Alexander and Frederick Macmillan each retaining a 20 per cent share in the New York business, and George and Maurice Macmillan 15 per cent each. [George P.] Brett was taken into partnership with a 10 per cent share” of the “increasingly buoyant American operation” (James, “Letters”

176). In 1896, the firm reorganized and the New York agency was incorporated as a joint-stock limited-liability "American company, owned mostly by the London Macmillans but managed by Brett as its president" (Madison 263). A limited-liability joint-stock company is a business in which capital is raised through the sale of stocks to a group of shareholders who are liable for company debts but their limit of liability only extends to the amount they initially invested in the firm (Micklethwait and Wooldridge 52). Stockholders can transfer or sell their stocks at any time. The limited-liability joint-stock company is a network of investors in which one stockholder can be replaced by another stockholder. A limited-liability joint-stock company can quickly raise the large financial investments necessary to successfully operate in the international field. Macmillan's successfully reorganization facilitated the firm's expansion into international markets. The publishing house adapted as commerce changed in the late nineteenth century and this allowed the firm to continue expanding and diversifying even during a period of global economic depression.

In the 1890s, a series of economic depressions in Australasia, North America, and Europe occurred that eventually affected the international book trade (Macintyre 129). George P. Brett in his letters to Maurice Macmillan remarked on the severity of the depression battering the Australasian economy in 1887 (*Macmillan Archives* Reel 3, Vol. 13, p 190). Surprisingly, neither Petherick nor his financial backers considered the impact of this depression on the Colonial Book Agency, which initially concentrated on the Australasian distribution market. Petherick was clearly aware of the depression as he wrote at times of the need for his company to be lenient in requiring customers to pay as the Colonial Book Agency was, to a certain degree by not forcing a number of colonial booksellers to pay their outstanding debts, keeping the colonial firms financially afloat. He did not want to call in debts and his backers certainly did not seemed worried about the lack of payments; when Petherick repeatedly requested further infusions of capital, between 1888 and 1892, his backers complied. In contrast to Petherick's actions, Macmillan was not willing to support the Australasian book trade to the detriment of the company. Consequently, while Macmillan was interested in capturing a share of the emerging international book market, the firm did not want to jeopardize its existing branches in Britain and the United States for the sake of further expansion. Instead of opening an Australasian distribution agency, Macmillan invested in Petherick's Colonial Book Agency. The firm's shrewd and pragmatic calculation was that it was cheaper and safer to invest in another distribution company rather than risk a larger sum of capital in establishing the publishing firm's own branch in the Australasian colonies. Perhaps Macmillan succeeded where Petherick failed because the publishing house was not overwhelmed by their enthusiasm and excitement for the international book trade and pragmatically and gradually entered the field of international literary production and distribution.

In correspondence with his father, Petherick described the book trade as "a wonderfully comprehensive business and a vast amount of trouble" (Petherick Collection MS 760, Box 1, pp 320-21). Petherick, Robertson, the Bretts, and others recognized that the international book trade was a complicated business. They quickly adopted new communication, transportation, and printing technologies in order to improve the international circulation of books and texts. The field of international literary production and distribution is a field within larger political and economic fields. While the political and economic fields do not directly affect the literary field, political and economic factors eventually trickle down and indirectly influence the international book trade. The book trade's adoption of new technologies, while supporting the development of the international book trade, was not enough to compensate for the economic depressions that would drastically affect the demand for books. Moreover, depression-effected countries enacted protectionist policies in order to shield national industries from international competition, and by the end of the nineteenth century, Britain was alone in continuing to endorse free trade policies. Consequently, the accelerated expansion of the international book trade between 1870 and 1890 gradually decelerated in the 1890s.

Still, Petherick's ambitious plans to develop the British-Australasian book trade and to sell and distribute books internationally with the Colonial Book Agency are no less daring because his company failed. Between 1870 and 1895, he helped to develop both the physical and intellectual infrastructure of the international book trade. Petherick convinced numerous publishers, authors, and others that the international book trade was a negotiable space in which they could buy and sell publications. He persuaded colleagues, friends, and family that the world was not so vast that they could not communicate and exchange ideas and commodities. Moreover his failure with the Colonial Book Agency did not augur a collapse of the international book trade. While a series of economic depressions in the 1890s affected the development of the field of international literary production and distribution, the book trade's enthusiasm for a global market dampened but did not diminish. Even when it became less profitable to sell books overseas, Heinemann and other British publishers continued to produce colonial editions and series for sale in the colonial marketplace (Johanson 76). British, American, and colonial publishers and booksellers continued to use the distribution networks developed by Edward Petherick, George Robertson, and others between 1870 and 1895, but the networks would not see the depth of international activity return to pre-1895 levels until the mid twentieth century.

The international book trade was "a vast amount of trouble" and the various economic, political, and social factors that ultimately influenced the literary field could not be easily overcome by the adoption of new technology or new business models. An incipient international economy existed in the late nineteenth century, but a number of the political, economic, and financial structures necessary for a global economy would not appear until the middle of the twentieth century (Scholte 73). Thus, even publishers and distributors who continued to operate in the literary field could not traverse the limits of the international economy. The international economy would not expand or develop into a global economy until other forms of globalization had developed "such as electronic transworld finance, [and] transborder production chains" (73-74). Still, the field of international literary production and distribution is not just about growth and intensification; rhizomic networks expand *and* contract. A rhizome is made up of multiple networks and within the networks a multitude of agents. While one network or branch of the rhizome may contract, other parts of the rhizome will continue to grow. Petherick and others "helped to spread global thinking … to wider circles of people" and encouraged authors and publishers to participate in the international book trade. Economic depressions in the 1890s impeded the growth of the field of international literary production and distribution but did not stop it. Even if a rhizomic network splits or ruptures because of changing social, cultural, and political realities, the rhizome continues. The idea or intellectual infrastructure of the international book trade had gained a certain currency by the 1890s; as Petherick's ideas circulated, publishers, authors, distributors and others in the book trade deterritorialized and reterritorialized his ideas for an international print economy: "from sign to sign, a movement from one territory to another, a circulation assuring a certain speed of deterritorialization" (Deleuze and Guattari 126). The idea of an international book trade engaged the imaginations of too many authors, publishers, and distributors to disappear; books circulated internationally, and later globally, because the idea of an international book trade had been widely disseminated in the late nineteenth century by Petherick and his contemporaries.

My study of the development and growth of the international book trade between 1870 and 1895 demonstrates that people, books, and ideas circulated globally, and the flow of people, books, and ideas increased in intensity and velocity in the late nineteenth century as interest in the international book trade grew. This study supports the idea that books are "relentlessly and inescapably international" (Eliot, "An International History of the Book?" 7); consequently, my research challenges the dominant and insular focus of Print Culture on books as national objects. Collaborative history-of-the-book projects attempt to fit the history of the book trade and culture into a national mould; however, in doing so these histories overlook or ignore the international circulation of books and construct inaccurate and false surveys of the history of the book. For example, in the introduction to *A History of the Book in Australia 1891-1945: A National Culture in a Colonised Market* (2001), Martyn Lyons emphasizes that by 1900 Australian was a colonized market controlled by British publishers (xviii). Moreover, Richard Nile and David Walker also argue that "[f]undamental to any consideration of the publishing history of this period is the centrality of London publishers .... London was not only a powerful and richly mythologised literary centre, the place where reputations were made and broken, but it was also the commercial centre of the literary world" (7). Lyons, Nile, and Walker overstate the importance of London as a "literary centre." An examination of the Australasian book trade from an international perspective reveals that Petherick and others in the trade accepted that London was a literary "vortex." However, Petherick and his contemporaries also recognized that by the end of the nineteenth century other places, such as New York and Melbourne, were supplanting London as important literary centres or markets. Furthermore, a national focus leads the *History of the Book in Australia* to overlook the rich history of Australians, like Edward Petherick, who participated in and helped to develop the international book trade. History-of-the-book projects such as HBiC or *History of the Book in Australia* end up as apologetic mediations on the failure of their respective book trades to attain national independence. Academics must expand the field of study beyond the national stage in order to examine both the international circulation of people, books, and ideas and the growth of the network(s) of "ante-rooms" that connected British, European, American, colonial, and foreign publishers, authors, distributors, and others in the international, and eventually global, book trade.

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